This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

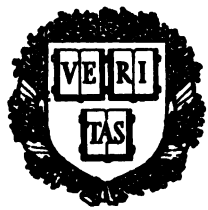
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

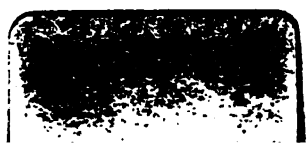
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

C1283.4

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY




FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JAMES WALKER
(Class of 1814)
*President of Harvard College*
"Preference being given to works in the Intellectual and Moral Sciences"



# MISCELLANIES.

LONDON:
ROBSON AND SONS, PRINTERS, PANCRAS ROAD, N.W

# MISCELLANIES.

BY

HENRY EDWARD,

CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

VOL. I.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES.

1877.

~~III, 1828~~ HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

C 1283.4

1847, Book II

Walker fund.

Vol. I, II.

# CONTENTS OF VOL. I.


I. PAGE

ROMA ÆTERNA . . . . . 1

A Discourse before the Accademia of the Quiriti, in Rome, on the 2615th Anniversary of this City, April 21, 1863.

II.

THE WORK AND THE WANTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND . . . . . 25

(*Dublin Review*, July 1863.)

III.

ON THE SUBJECTS PROPER TO THE ACADEMIA . 73

Session 1863-4.

IV.

FATHER FABER . . . . . 111

(*Dublin Review*, January 1864.)

V.

THE VISIT OF GARIBALDI TO ENGLAND . . . 123

A Letter to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c.

VI.

CARDINAL WISEMAN . . . . . 149

(*Dublin Review*, April 1865.)

VII.

PAGE

INAUGURAL ADDRESS . . . . . 171

ACADEMIA OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, SESSION 1866-7.

VIII.

FRENCH INFIDELITY . . . . . 193

READ BEFORE THE ACADEMIA, MAY 19, 1867.

IX.

IRELAND . . . . . 211

A LETTER TO EARL GREY, 1868.

X.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS . . . . . 257

ACADEMIA OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, SESSION 1868-9.

XI.

ON PROGRESS . . . . . 293

ADDRESSED TO THE YOUNG MEN'S CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 10, 1871.

XII.

THE DÆMON OF SOCRATES . . . . . 325

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, JANUARY 26, 1872.

XIII.

A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND . . 361

# I.

# ROMA ÆTERNA.

# ROMA ÆTERNA.

A Discourse before the Accademia of the Quiriti, in Rome, on the 2615th Anniversary of this City, April 21, 1863.

Colleagues of the Accademia of the Quiriti,—Your too great kindness has invited me, a stranger in blood, but not in faith nor in heart, to address you on this your great civic festival; and I should have more than hesitated to accept your bidding, if I had not remembered who it was that a little while ago pronounced from the Chair of S. Peter that Rome belongs to the Catholic world; or, as we should invert the words, that the Catholic world belongs to Rome. S. Augustin tells us, 'Gratissime atque humanissime factum est, ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis et Romani cives essent, ac si esset omnium quod erat ante paucorum'[1] (*De Civ. Dei*, lib. v. cap. xvii. 1). Rome imposed its name on all its provinces; they were no longer *indigenes*, but Romans. The city denoted not so much the girdle of its walls and the splendour of its

[1] 'All who belonged to the Roman Empire were, by a most kind and courteous treatment, received into citizenship, and made Roman citizens, just as if that which formerly was the property of a few now belonged to all.'

streets and palaces, its Forum and its Capitol, as the order of civilised life which spread its circumference wheresoever Rome held sway. So it is now, and in a far higher and profounder sense. You did well, therefore, to bid one of another race and of another tongue to celebrate the birthday of the Eternal City. In the name of all who may be here of other races, and in my own, I disclaim the character of a stranger. We are here in our Father's house, where the nations forget their limits and their rivalries, and are conscious only of their unity in the kingdom of God. No more resplendent example of this truth was ever given to the world than in the venerable and sacred Senate by which the Sovereign Pontiff was surrounded on the last Festival of Pentecost; the whole Catholic world sent its representatives to the Throne of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Nor was this truth ever more gracefully acknowledged than in the act of sovereign courtesy by which the Bishops here assembled were then admitted to the freedom and the rights of Roman citizens.

I perceive also the same large and Catholic spirit in the Accademia to which your kindness ascribed me last year. The cultivation of the intellect in science and art, and the multiplication of the means of that cultivation by professorial chairs, lectures, libraries, and correspondence, together with a wide-spread affiliation of members in all grades of the Hierarchy and in all parts of the Catholic Church,—this intellectual confederation, consecrated to the service of the Faith, is one of those instruments of Christian civilisation which the Holy See has alone known how to create. It is a fitting en-

terprise for such a body to undertake to write the *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* and the *History of the Catholic Episcopate*, in which the unity and the universality of Rome are expressed.

And now what shall I, born *inter divisos toto orbe Britannos*, venture to propose to you on this auspicious solemnity? Though Aristotle, in his *Rhetorica*, tells us that it is an easy task to praise Athens among the Athenians, I find it no easy task to celebrate Rome in the hearing of Romans. Of what shall I speak? Among the constellations of its glories, ancient, mediæval, and modern, both in the natural and the supernatural order, which shall I choose as my theme? and how shall I speak of it? How will the delicate Roman ear of such an auditory as I see before me endure the strangeness of our accents and of our thoughts in speaking of that which is so dear and so intimate to your hearts? Nevertheless, I must adventure as I may, confiding only in the largeness of your clemency.

I dare say we can all remember how, in our boyhood, the title 'the Eternal City' inspired us with awe and wonder; but how in after years, when the first antipathies of criticism began to work in us, we resented the use of such an epithet as a pagan apotheosis of the *Dea Roma*. And yet, as time goes on, and reflection becomes mature, we can perceive under it a truth so singular in its kind and so vast in its proportions as to render this great title, not a literal definition indeed, but a symbol of the greatest history the world has ever seen. It would be to say little if I were to compare the duration of Rome with the duration of any other city.

It would not be to say too much if I were to affirm that the only city which has not only overpassed the duration of all others, but has alone borne any proportion to the destinies of the whole human race, is the city of Rome.

In order to express this truth, I shall not need to clear away the sands which hide from the eyes of men the very sites of Nineve and of Babylon, nor to point to the cities of Central America, the outlines of which are marked to this day as the extinct craters which denote the volcanic activity of the past along the line of your Apennines. I shall not attempt to play the antiquary, nor to inquire into the date of Vaticanum or Saturnia, of Tarquinium or Romuria, or of the nine Romes which, as we are told, crowned the seven hills before Rome was. It will not help my theme to affirm, 'Roma ante Romulum fuit. Et ab ea nomen Romulus adquisivit.'[2] I am not now speaking of a mere duration of time,—of an antiquity numbered by years,—but of a duration of power and dominion, of beneficence and sovereignty, which, in the history of mankind, Rome has possessed and wielded beyond all other cities of the world. Let me, then, say a few words on this great title,—the Eternity of Rome.

I know of only one other city which can compare with it. Jerusalem of the Old Law,—the city of the Prophets, the cradle of the Messias who was yet to come,—for a thousand years grew and expanded, diffusing its light and its influence by the dispersion of

[2] 'Rome existed before Romulus; from her Romulus derived his name.'

its children, first among the nations of the East, and next among the nations of this world. But now for another thousand years it has been dethroned and in bondage. The glories of the city of David have passed to the Jerusalem of the New Law, the city of the Apostles and of the Messias already come, who by His Vicar reigns in it, and by it governs the supernatural order of the world. How much more emphatically fulfilled in our mouths are the words of the Prophet, 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo. Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium. Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.'[3] It is as if Jerusalem had said, in the words of the Baptist, to the city which should take up the crown fallen from its head, 'She must increase, but I must decrease.' And to these two, the queens of the human race, the words of S. Paul may in very truth be applied: 'Jerusalem, which is in bondage with her children; but the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our Mother' (Gal. iv. 25, 26).

I am well aware that in using this language I am speaking in a tongue which the men of the nineteenth century deride; but I know that it is the language of faith and of Rome. With the august example of our Holy Father shining as a light above us and around us, who will not be thankful and joyful to be allowed to share in the opposition which is his inheritance and his chalice?

I would affirm, then, that Rome would have been

[3] 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people. How is the mistress of the nations become as a widow. The princess of provinces is made tributary' (Lam. i. 1).

as transient as other cities built by man, if a higher life and a supernatural perpetuity had not descended upon it; that there is nothing great in Rome which is not derived from the Incarnation, nor anything little in Rome except that which is opposed to this supernatural greatness.

It took of old five hundred years to subdue the south of Italy to the sway of regal and republican Rome. And before another five hundred years had passed, Rome had subdued the world, mapped out its surface, traversed it by roads, organised it by legislation, taught it to speak its one language, and to obey its one will. And yet already the seeds of dissolution were sown in it, and it was doomed to die. As S. Augustin says, 'Si recedit Spiritus Dei, Spiritus hominis revolvitur in carnem.'[4] This mightiest structure of the human intelligence, and of the human will, which summed up in itself the accumulated traditions of civilisation and philosophy, of science and government, was no sooner ripe than it began to rot. It had its root in the powers of nature, and its stature, though lofty and majestic, did not rise above the natural order. If the Divine will had not interposed, Rome would have waned and passed away as Tyre and Sidon. The foxes would have barked upon the Aventine as when Belisarius rode through its desolation, and shepherds would have folded their flocks upon the Seven Hills as they do at this day upon the gardens of its mighty suburbs. Its natural life was well-nigh spent, and its hour to return

[4] 'If the Spirit of God departs, the spirit of man returns to flesh.'

into the dust was near at hand, when a Divine interposition came.

Rome was destined to receive a supernatural graft, and by this to live again, with a new and inextinguishable life. And yet before this it was doomed to die. The words of our Divine Master were to be fulfilled in it: 'Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet.'[5] It was a perplexing and an irritating spectacle for the Roman people to behold the city which had ruled the world desolate, forsaken by its imperial master, spoiled for the adornment of a trading town upon the shores of the Bosphorus. Every day its splendour grew more dim, and the action of its will upon the provinces and the nations grew more feeble. No wonder the Pagans accused Christianity of the downfall of Rome. No wonder S. Augustin had to labour, to write a work in two-and-twenty books to show that Rome was perishing through its inbred corruptions in religion, in philosophy, in politics, and in morals, and could be saved only by accepting its vocation to be the Jerusalem of the New Law.

Rome had already governed the nations of the world by the power of natural prudence, and by the command of the natural will. It had subdued and controlled the strong by a strength greater than their own. It had endured for a longer time in the splendour of its sway than any other empire. Yet all this was mortal and transient. To live on, it must needs be elevated to another order in the works of God, in which alone per-

[5] 'Unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone' (S. John xii. 24).

petuity can be found. And that is no other than the new creation, the order of the Incarnation. But like as Jerusalem little knew the presence of its Redeemer while He taught in its streets, and at evening withdrew from its inhospitable thresholds to pass the night in prayer upon the Mount of Olives, so Rome for centuries was unconscious of the supernatural Presence which was to redeem it from the law of death. S. Leo has has said: 'Hæc autem civitas, ignorans suæ provectionis auctorem, cum tunc omnibus dominaretur gentibus, omnium gentium serviebat erroribus.'[6] It had become the seat of the Word made Flesh, the centre of His kingdom, the throne of His power. While the frontiers of its former sway were giving way to the invasion of new and irresistible hordes, and its provinces were falling from their fidelity, and the conquered nations were rising against their Queen, and all the bonds which the wisdom and power of a thousand years had created were dissolving, new virtues were going out from it, powers not new alone, but of an order transcending all its former consciousness. Rome had been lifted to the supernatural order. It had become the source and the centre of influences, creative and divine. It was no longer a mere material architect of human civilisation, but a teacher and a guide, a legislator and an arbiter in the spiritual world. S. Leo defines this change with the majestic precision of his eloquence: 'Isti sunt viri per quos Evangelium Christi Romæ resplenduit, et quæ erat Magistra erroris, facta

[6] 'This city, ignorant of the author of its increase, when she was reigning over all nations, became enslaved to the errors of all nations.'

est discipula veritatis.' 'Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerint, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram B. Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divina, quam dominatione terrena."[7]

It was but a small thing to impose its laws, and even its language, upon the nations subject to its sway. This was an exterior work which mere power might accomplish. A greater work was yet to be done. The nations of the world were to be inwardly changed and assimilated to the mind and will of Rome. It was to become the type and the standard of the intellectual, moral, spiritual, and social perfection to mankind.

And this could be effected by a spiritual power alone. It would be greatly out of time and place if I were to detain you by descanting upon the spiritual mission of Rome in converting the nations of the world. What all the power of Imperial Rome could not do Christian Rome accomplished. It illuminated its provinces with the knowledge of the true God, and cleansed them by the purities of His kingdom of grace. The apostolic mission grew and bound the races and people of all lands to the Apostolic See, and thereby to Rome. A new centripetal law redressed the centrifugal forces which were rapidly dissolving its imperial unity. What Rome of the kings, of the consuls, of the emperors,

[7] 'These are the men through whom the Gospel of Christ shone at Rome, and she who was the teacher of error became a learner of the truth.' 'These are those who raised thee to this glory, so that thou, a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal city, wast made, by the holy see of Blessed Peter, the capital of the world, obtaining wider sway by the power of religion than by earthly sovereignty.'

could not do, Rome of the Pontiffs accomplished. They could not win the will of those they subdued, or make them rejoice in their subjection. The name of Rome was detested by the very races who loved the Pontiffs as their Fathers in Christ. The love of Christian Rome prevailed over the traditional hatreds of mankind.

Such was the action of the faith illuminating the intelligence of the nations with the equable and steadfast light of the knowledge of God, and binding them in one family by the Sacraments of grace. Under the higher action of this spiritual influence, an intellectual culture and an intellectual unity has been propagated among the races of the Christian family. As all the scattered lights of what may be called the theology of nature were gathered and purified in the illumination of the one true faith so that all religions passed away before the religion of Jesus Christ, in like manner all philosophies were harmonised and absorbed into the one intellectual science of the Church, by which the revelation of supernatural truth was justified, illustrated, and defended. The human reason, which had fallen into innumerable and interminable errors by playing the critic, was elevated, strengthened, and enlarged by becoming the disciple of a Divine Teacher. The intellect of Christendom has ascended to a sphere of light and of philosophy unattainable without a revelation and a perpetual Divine authority. It is Rome which has presided over this intellectual development, and has sat as an arbiter of its discussions, and has given unity and perpetuity to its scientific traditions.

An inevitable consequence of the intellectual supe-

riority in the order of moral truth is what we call civilisation. I know of no point of view in which the glory of Rome is more conspicuous than in its civil mission to the races of the world. When the seat of empire was translated from Rome to Constantinople, all the culture and civilisation of Italy seemed to be carried away to enrich and to adorn the East. It seemed as if God had decreed to reveal to the world what His Church could do without the world, and what the world could not do without the Church. A more melancholy history than that of the Byzantine Empire is nowhere to be read. It is one long narrative of the usurpation and insolent dominion of the world over the Church, which, becoming schismatical and isolated, fell easily under its imperial masters. With all its barbaric splendour and its imperial power, what has Constantinople accomplished for the civilisation or the Christianity of the East? If the salt had kept its savour, it would not have been cast out and trodden under the feet of the Eastern Antichrist.

While this was accomplishing in the East, in the West a new world was rising, in order, unity, and fruitfulness, under the action of the Pontiffs. Even the hordes which inundated Italy were changed by them from the wildness of Nature to the life of Christian civilisation. From S. Leo to S. Gregory the Great, Christian Europe may be said not to exist. Rome stood alone under the rule of its Pontiffs, while as yet empires and kingdoms had no existence. Thus little by little, and one by one, the nations which now make up the unity of Christendom were created, trained, and

formed to political societies. First Lombardy, then Gaul, then Spain, then Germany, then Saxon England; then the first germs of lesser states began to appear. But to whom did they owe the laws, the principles, and the influences which made their existence possible coherent, and mature? It was to the Roman Pontiffs that they owed the first rudiments of their social and political order. It was the exposition of the Divine law by the lips of the Vicar of Jesus Christ that founded the Christian polity of the world.

This the Church has been able to do without the world, and even in spite of it. Nothing can be conceived more isolated, more feeble, or more encompassed with peril, than the line of the Roman Pontiffs; nevertheless they have maintained inviolate their independence, with their sacred deposit of faith and of jurisdiction, through all ages and through all conflicts, from the beginning to this hour. It seemed as if God willed to remove the first Christian emperor from Rome in the early fervour of his conversion, lest it should seem as if the sovereignty of the Church were in any way the creation of his power. God is jealous of His own kingdom, and will not suffer any unconsecrated hand to be laid upon His ark, even for its support.

The 'stone cut out without hands,' which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, is typical not only of the expansion and universality of the Church, but of its mysterious and supernatural character. No human hand has accomplished its greatness. The hand of God alone could bring it to pass. What is there in the history of the world parallel to the Rome of the

Christians? The most warlike and imperial people of the world gave place to a people unarmed and without power. The pacific people arose from the Catacombs, and entered upon the possession of Rome as their inheritance. The existence of Christian Rome, both in its first formation, and next in its perpetuity, is a miracle of Divine power. God alone could give it to His people; God alone could preserve it to them, and them in it. What more wonderful sight than to see a Franciscan monk leading the Via Crucis in the Flavian Amphitheatre, or the Passionist missionaries conversing peacefully among the ilexes and the vaults where the wild beasts from Africa thirsted for the blood of Christians? Who has prevailed upon the world for 1500 years to fall back as Attila did from Christian Rome? Who has persuaded its will, and paralysed its ambitions and conflicting interests? Such were my thoughts the other day when the Sovereign Pontiff, surrounded by the Princes and Pastors of the Church, was celebrating the Festival of the Resurrection over the Confession of S. Peter. I thought of the ages past, when in the Amphitheatre of Nero, within which we stood, thousands of martyrs fell beneath the arms of the heathen. And now, the Rex Pacificus, the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, there holds his court, and offers over the tomb of the Apostle the unbloody Sacrifice of our redemption. The legions of Rome have given way before a people who have never lifted a hand in war. They have taken the city of the Cæsars, and hold it to this day. The more than Imperial Court which surrounded the Vicar of Jesus Christ surpassed the glories of the Empire. 'This is the victory which

overcometh the world, our Faith.' The noblest spectacle upon earth is an unarmed man, whom all the world cannot bend by favour or by fear. Such a man is essentially above all worldly powers. And such eminent among the inflexible is he, the Pontiff and King who, in the midst of the confusions and rebellions of the whole earth, bestowed that day his benediction upon the city and the world.

It is no wonder to me that Italians should believe in the Primacy of Italy. Italy has indeed a Primacy, but not that of which some have dreamed. The Primacy of Italy is the presence of Rome; and the Primacy of Rome is in its apostleship to the whole human race, in the science of God with which it has illuminated mankind, in its supreme and world-wide jurisdiction over souls, in its high tribunal of appeal from all the authorities on earth, in its inflexible exposition of the moral law, in its sacred diplomacy, by which it binds the nations of Christendom into a confederacy of order and of justice,—these are its true, supreme, and—because God so has willed—its inalienable and incommunicable primacy among the nations of the earth. Take these away, and Rome becomes less than Jerusalem, and Italy one among the nations, and not among the first. The world does not return upon its path, nor reproduce its past. Time was when Rome wielded an irresistible power by its legions and its armies throughout the world. The nations of Europe and of the East were then barbarous or unorganised, without cohesion, and without unity of will or power. Those uncivilised and dependent provinces are now kingdoms and empires,

wielding each a power, in peace and in war, mature and massive as the power of Rome in its ripest season. It is a delirium of the memory for Italy to dream now of empire and of supremacy in the order of nature, that is of war and conquest. The Primacy of Italy is Christian and Catholic, or it has none. Alas for your fair land and for your noble race, if, forgetting its true greatness, it covet false glory which is not its own. In that hour it abdicates its mission—the greatest a people ever had—and descends from its primacy among the nations of the world. A vocation lost is prelude to a fall. This is not to increase, but to decrease before God and man.

I do not remember in the history of the world any example of the permanent union of temporal splendour with spiritual fruitfulness and power. The sceptre had departed from Judah when the waters of eternal life flowed from Jerusalem throughout the world. Rome had ceased to be the seat of empire when it became the mother of Christian nations. When Constantinople became imperial, it began to fail in its witness for the Faith and Unity of Jesus Christ. The kingdoms and empires of Christian Europe have been faithful to the Holy See in their depression, and rebellious in their prosperity. The two nations most Catholic, most Christian, most filial in their love of the kingdom of God, are Ireland and Poland. Rome, I may say, because it is the seat of the Vicar of our crucified Lord, is supreme in the spiritual order, feeble in the natural and political. 'It always bears about in the body the mortification of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in its body.' Such is its normal

state. Let it be recognised as the law of its existence and of its sovereignty, lest the incantations of the tempter steal away the hearts of men with visions of unity and empire and splendour in this world. It is a severe vocation to be the cross-bearers in the procession of the Vicars of our crucified Master. But to this you are called. Romans, if you would renew your courage for this conflict, lift up your eyes to the cloud of witnesses which hover above your head; to the martyrs and confessors, the Pontiffs and Levites, the virgins and saints, who on this soil, by tears and by blood, have overcome the world, and are now before the throne. Look, too, at the Catholic unity upon earth, which but the other day flew hither on the wings of faith and love and filial devotion to surround the Vicar of Christ; look at the frontiers of the Holy Church, which are flowing outwards with ever-expanding force, conquering, and embracing the conquered in the unity of the true Fold; look at the circuit of the kingdom of God, which rests upon the sunrise and the sunset, upon the farthest north and upon the islands of the southern seas. It was never yet so vast or wide-spreading; never did the ends of the earth lift up their hands towards the Vicar of the Incarnate Word so universally as at this hour. In the moment of its anguish and its affliction, when the world believes it to be in feebleness and decline, the Holy See is putting forth mightier powers, and reigning over wider realms than ever till now.

But if this be not enough, learn of the world, of its miseries and its anguish. Rome laid the foundations of Christian Europe on the basis of a supernatural

unity; and, with all its revolutions and inundations of evil, it abides to this day. England laid the foundations of North America upon the basis of natural society; and the lifetime of one man is long enough to touch the beginning and the ending of its political unity. The unity of faith, and filial obedience to the unity of the Church in the person of its Head, in ages past fused the discordant races of England, France, and Spain, and made of them kingdoms and monarchies, which endure, in their massive consolidation and unity of mind and will, unto this hour. So God has ever brought social and political unity out of the chaos of disorder. They who begin by contending against the fountain and law of unity doom themselves to division and confusion. They are wrestling with necessity; and he who contends with necessity must fail: 'Whoso shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, and on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder.'

Bear with me yet a little if I say too much, my Colleagues of the Accademia; I so love your Eternal City as the head of the nations of the world, that I love it not at all as the capital of a nation. We are surfeited to sickness with national greatness and national pride. London, and Manchester, and Glasgow, and Dublin; Paris, and Lyons, and Madrid; St. Petersburg and New York,—are more than enough, with their gigantic enterprise, worldly splendour, gross material luxury, and low vulgarity of national egotism, to cure any man of the folly of exchanging the Mother and the Mistress of the people of the world for the handmaid and the servant of a nation. If we desire to be citizens of a

national capital, we should go elsewhere. Christian Rome is our mother. An Italian London has neither our admiration nor our love.

The eternity of Rome, then, if it be not an exact truth, is nevertheless no mere rhetorical exaggeration. It denotes the fact that Rome has been chosen of God as the centre of His kingdom, which is eternal, as the depository of His eternal truths, as the fountain of His graces which lead men to a higher life, as the witness and guardian of law and principles of which the sanctions and the fruit are eternal. Romans, you have a vocation and a mission, a trust and an account to give at the great day, to which none but you are called. You have inherited the birthright of Jerusalem, not in the supernatural order only, but even in the order of nature. This very city, and you that dwell in it, partake of the destinies and the glories of the Incarnation beyond all other cities and races. You are the sons and the servants, the Levites and the guardians, of the Vicar of the Incarnate Son of God. You are, as your own S. Leo called you of old, 'Gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia.'[8] Your very existence is so interwoven with the Incarnation, that its sufferings are your sufferings, its victories your victoties, its glories your glories. Therefore you have lived in eighteen hundred years of combat; therefore you waded through three hundred years of persecution, and have stood as the *triarii* of your ancient legions, immovable through fifteen hundred years of interminable conflict. When all others gave way before the world,

[8] 'A holy nation, a chosen people, a city of kings and priests.'

Rome has ever restored the battle. And now once more the cry is heard, 'Res ad triarios perventum est.'[9] Bear with me if I venture to utter what we, in our weakness and isolation, hope for at your hands.

I shall say little if I say that on you, under God, we depend for the immutability, not only of the faith in all the radiance of its exposition and illustration, and of the Divine law in all its breadth, and purity, and perfection. You are also charged with the custody of other truths which descend from this great sphere of supernatural light, and with the application of those truths to the turbulent and unstable elements of human society.

You have to bear witness that God has a kingdom among men; that Christianity is not a mere school of speculation, a 'philosophia umbratilis,' an intellectual theory for unoccupied men, feeble, inert, and dependent upon the supremacy of human power; but a true and proper sovereignty over the wills of men and of races, of individuals and of empires; a kingdom not of this world, but in it, and because not of it, therefore superior to it; able to move it because not resting upon it; mighty to control it because it is the kingdom of eternal justice, whose law in the end will infallibly prevail. In all the Christian world save only here, this Divine truth has been enfeebled or betrayed; that is, in all separated countries the world is supreme. Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Canterbury, are witnesses of the judgment which falls on those who falter in their fidelity to the sovereignty of truth.

[9] 'The battle has reached to the rear-guard.'

In Catholic countries where the national egotism is strong, the action of truth is weak because the sovereignty and independence of the Church are crossed and shackled. With you alone it is in the plenitude of its freedom. Rome is sovereign because it is independent; it is independent because it has no master upon earth. The Vicar of Jesus Christ is the source of its liberty and the guardian of its sovereignty. Call it temporal power if you will, the thing is the same,—the freedom, the independence, the sovereignty of the kingdom of God on earth, in all the world and over all mankind, resting upon its centre in the patrimony of the Church, within which the shadow of no other sovereignty can intrude without a violation of the supernatural order of grace. Because it is the only spot of ground on which the Vicar of Christ can set the sole of his foot in freedom, therefore they who would drive the Incarnation off the face of the earth hover about it to wrest it from his hands. For this, then, you are witnesses and guardians. You are set in an age when the material civilisation of the world has been piled up to a gigantic height, to testify that there is an order higher still; that as the soul is more than the body, and eternity than time, so the moral order is above the material; that justice is above power; that justice may suffer long, but must reign at last; that power is not right; that no wrongs can be sanctified by success; nor can the immutable laws of right and wrong be confounded. You are the heirs of those who renewed the face of the world, and created the Christian civilisation of Europe. You are the depositories of truths and principles which

are indestructible in their vitality. Though buried like the ear of corn in the Pyramids of Egypt, they strike root and spring into fruit when their hour is come. Truths and principles are divine; they govern the world; to suffer for them is the greatest glory of man. 'Non mors sed causâ mortis facit martyrem.'[10] So long as Rome is grafted upon the Incarnation, it is the head of the world. If it were possible to cut it out from its Divine root, it would fall from its primacy among mankind. But this cannot be. He who chose it for His own, has kept it to this hour. He who has kept it until now, will keep it unto the end. Be worthy of your high destiny for His sake, who has called you to it; for our sakes, who look up to you as, under God, our light and our strength.

[10] 'Not death, but the cause of death, makes the martyr.'

## II.

# THE WORK AND THE WANTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

# THE WORK AND THE WANTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

(*Dublin Review*, July 1863.)

*n Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World.* Written for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monsignor Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation de Propoganda Fide. Now first translated from an authentick Italian MS. never published. To which is added a Discourse concerning the State of Religion in England; written in French in the time of King Charles I., and now first translated. With a large Dedication to the present Pope, giving him a very particular Account of the State of Religion amongst Protestants; and of several other matters of importance relating to Great Britain. By Sir Richard Steele. (London: printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-lane, MDCCXV.)

More than a generation of men has passed away since the emancipation of the Catholic Church in Great Britain from the persecution of the penal laws; and nearly half a generation since the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy. We have reached, therefore, a time when we may review the condition of the Church in this country. The silent and gradual expansion of a tree may escape the eye from moment to moment, but in a series of years its breadth of shadow and its rising stature reveal the accumulation of its life and

power. So with the Church in England. After a series of vicissitudes more rapid, abrupt, and various than Christianity has ever known in any other land, the Catholic Church goes forth once more to evangelise the English people. England has been Pagan and Christian; then Pagan and Christian again; then Catholic in all the docility of childlike obedience; then, though Catholic still, indocile in all the pretensions of its national pride; then reformed (so called), with all the alternations of action and reaction from Continental Protestantism to Hierarchical Anglicanism, from Latitudinarianism to Pietism, from an imitative Catholicism to a thorough Rationalism, which is now spreading on all sides under the foundations of English society. Meanwhile the Church has been twice all but extinct, and twice restored in power.

For the purpose of bringing out more clearly these facts of Divine Providence, we have prefixed to this article the title of a work which was published in the last century. It presents us with one of those historical pictures which read like a fiction. To the Catholics of this day, and even to our Protestant antagonists, it will seem hardly credible that the account of the Roman Catholic religion in England, which now would fill a volume, should be despatched in about a dozen octavo pages; and even of these, three-fourths at least are occupied with an account of the schism under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and of the appointment of first an Archpriest, and then of a Vicar-Apostolic for the whole of England. The description of the actual state of religion in England is contained

in a few sentences: 'I shall only say, in general, that there are many Catholics in the country at this present time; but that their number is not very considerable if compared with that of the heretics, who are divided into Church of England men, Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, Independents, and several other sects. The exercise of the Catholic religion is wholly prohibited both in public and in private. The Catholics meet together in some few places to perform Divine worship, but they do so with the utmost secrecy, and not without great danger.' It seems incredible that such should have been our state only two centuries ago. What we purpose in this article, then, is to take a slight survey, by way of contrast, of our present condition, and that rather with a practical view, and for the sake of stimulating zeal and activity, than as a matter of mere literary speculation.

The history of England exhibits in a wonderful way the action of the Church upon the world, and their irreconcilable conflict. It was the Church that civilised England, united its races, founded and consecrated its monarchy. The Church has a twofold work to do for mankind. Its first and primary, indeed, is to save souls, to lead men to eternal life. Its second, but no less true, is to ripen and to elevate the social and political life of men by its influences of morality and of law. As the Church is not a mere school of opinion for the enlightenment of the intellect, but a true kingdom for the government of the will, so its mission is not only to direct the conscience and the will of individuals as units, but of fathers as the heads of

households, and of princes or governors as the rulers of peoples and of nations. Hence, by the Divine law of its mission to mankind, arises what is called the social and political *status* of the Church.

The Holy See, in creating Christian Europe, contracted social and political relations with the civil society which it had called into existence. The Church in England formed an integral and vital part of the social and political order of the Saxon races,—permeating its whole structure and life: it anointed their princes, legislated in their parliaments, judged in their tribunals; and being thus intimately united with the whole public life and social order of the people, the Church accomplished more pervadingly and more uniformly its spiritual mission in guiding men to eternal life. The theory of unconsecrated civil powers, occupied only with the temporal welfare of the people, was unknown to our Saxon forefathers, and would have been rejected by them as an impiety and a folly. True, indeed, it is that civil society has no Divine mission to the souls of men, no custody of revealed truths or laws, no supernatural discernment of what is for the eternal welfare of its members, no faculties to apply itself to the care of souls, nor any authority to direct the conscience. Nevertheless, a State has higher duties than that of conferring purely temporal benefits; and the Church, in consecrating the civil order by the grace of Christianity, enables it to promote the welfare of its people by a discernment and by means which are above its own. Such was eminently the state of Saxon England.

The Anglo-Saxon monarchy belongs to a Christian

and patriarchal period, and hardly enters into the text of modern history. It is, like the source of the Nile, hidden, but prolific; a mighty and productive cause, but withdrawn from sight. From it descend the unwritten laws, traditions, customs, and characteristic spirit of England in all its ages and in its full maturity. The Norman period, if it be more historical, and more within the range of our cognisance and our criticism, is, nevertheless, a time of culmination and of decline. The English monarchy grew strong; the English Church grew weak. The Saxon period expired in S. Edward, King and Confessor, who symbolised the spirit of that most beautiful age; the Norman reached its full development in Henry VIII., the offspring and the representative of its anti-Catholic spirit and traditions. Nevertheless, in the five centuries of the Norman-English rule, the Church created for itself a vast, mature, and powerful organisation for the discharge of its civil mission to the people of England. It participated in all the political life and action, the domestic and foreign policy, the legislative and judicial power of the monarchy. It had a rich inheritance of ecclesiastical endowments, it accumulated a vast multitude of eleemosynary foundations, it formed and directed a noble and abundant system of education in all its branches and for all classes of the people. The grammar schools of England, the higher, or, as we call them, the public schools, and the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were an ample and worthy provision for the education of a people less than three millions in number.

Now of all these the Reformation robbed the Catholic Church at one blow. It was simply exiled from political power, and put out of the sphere of the social life of England. Its pastors were driven from the councils of State. They were excluded from all share in the legislation and the government of the realm. Its charitable institutions were taken away, and its schools and universities turned against itself. It is not possible to conceive the state of privation and of poverty to which the Church was reduced. In France the Protestants were a small minority, who withdrew from the institutions and culture of a Catholic nation. All the accumulated resources of spiritual and intellectual cultivation possessed by the Church of France remained with it still, because the French nation continued faithful. In England all was the reverse—the Catholics were the minority. They were spoiled of all that their fathers had created and accumulated. All the culture, maturity, and intellectual development of the English people, with all the instruments and means of its progress and expansion, remained in the hands of the anti-Catholic majority. It would be difficult to overstate the effects of this spoliation. The Emperor Julian showed the true instinct of an apostate in closing the Christian schools; and the Tudor princess manifested the same subtilty in robbing the Catholics of England of the means of intellectual culture. The true way to weaken an antagonist is to despoil him of the means of knowledge and cultivation.

The prudence and the providence of the great Catholic men of those times was signally shown in the

foundation of colleges in Paris, Douai, Lisbon, Valladolid, Rome, and elsewhere, which for three centuries have returned into England a perpetual though scanty stream of educated priests. Nor have these colleges even now, in our better days, exhausted their mission. It is of great moment to the Catholic Church that its priests should possess as little as possible of the *idola specûs* of nationalism, and as much as possible of the culture of other Catholic nations; so that, even when hereafter, as we hope, the whole circle of our Catholic education is completed, there will always be an office of high importance for these colleges to discharge — namely, to contribute the culture of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France to the culture of England in the members of our priesthood.

It would be wearisome and out of place to enter here into the details of the depression under which the Catholics of England have laboured during the last three hundred years, or to trace out the continual diminution of their numbers and the continual decrease of their strength. For a long time great numbers of the aristocracy and of the landed commonalty maintained their fidelity. In some counties of England a large proportion of the country gentlemen and their families were Catholic. Now they form a proportion almost inappreciably small. To give an idea of the effect of penal laws, we may state that we have heard, on good authority, that in Ireland, between the years 1750 and 1775, five thousand persons, some with their whole families, apostatised from the faith. Many English families continued Catholic down to the last generation. It

was the fathers or the grandfathers of many of the men of the present day who, as it is styled, conformed to the Established Church. But these times of oppression were to have an end ; and the religious reaction caused by the impieties of the first French Revolution came in like a spring-tide upon England and Ireland. We have little doubt that this was among the remote causes of Catholic emancipation, and of the wonderful religious phenomena which have arisen since the year 1830 : such as the revival of religious earnestness ; the profuse church-building throughout England and Ireland ; the vast efforts for educating the people ; the Anglo-Catholic movement, as it is called, of which the analysis has yet to be made, and the intellectual history to be appreciated; and, lastly, the wonderful simulations of Catholic faith, ritual, and devotion, which sprang up simultaneously and in parallel lines within the Established Church of England and the Established Church of Scotland — namely, what are called Puseyism and Irvingism. All these seem to us to be nothing more than the irregular and impetuous motions of earnest minds driven onward before the irresistible stream of ideas and sympathies which agitated the whole of Christian Europe in its recoil from unbelief and its return towards the sources of supernatural faith.

But we cannot pursue these thoughts further, tempting as they are. We must turn back to the position of the Catholic Church at the time of its emancipation. It found itself stripped of everything, incapable of holding property, of executing a legal trust, of purchasing land for its churches and schools. A few of its churches

still remain, spectacles of abject and miserable poverty; such, for instance, as the old Catholic church at Brompton, near Chatham—a structure of planking for walls, with sash windows, and galleries covering half the area, steeped in and squalid with the dirt of years. Great was the faith of those who through all this degradation still beheld and adored the Divine Presence.

But the time was come for a new age to set in. In the reign of William IV. statutes were passed enabling Catholics to make legal trusts for religious and charitable purposes, to purchase land for churches and schools, and to provide endowments for Divine worship and education, and for the maintenance of clergy and school-teachers. By an oversight, or by an absurd and oppressive anomaly, while the Catholic worship was legalised, the celebration of the Mass for the departed —which is a part of that worship—was still held to be a superstitious use. Nevertheless, the position was greatly ameliorated, and Catholics began to enter once more into the social and political life of England. We can remember the fear and dislike with which the first Catholic members were received in the House of Commons, and the abuse with which they were daily treated by the newspapers of this country. We can recollect also with what astonishment and aversion Mr. O'Connell was seen ascending the stairs to a *levée* at Buckingham Palace, in the robes and chain of Lord Mayor of Dublin. These were portents in the State,—as when seven moons were seen at once, or when oxen spake and statues sweated blood. Nevertheless, Catholics arose and multiplied on every side. It seemed like the exuberant life

of Nature. Turn up the soil where you will with a spade, and the surface next the sun will spring with new forms of life. All over England Catholics manifested themselves, and churches and schools created new and visible centres of influence where the Catholic worship had never yet been seen.

Another cause which gave prominence to Catholics was the vehement endeavour of the Protestant Dissenters to reduce the status of the Established Church, by abolishing church-rates and throwing open the Universities. The Established Church weathered the storm, and in many ways became more active and enterprising; but its traditional dignity was marred, and its exclusive superiority has ever since declined. It is now little more than the richest and most numerous among many sects. The country does not regard it as the representative and the expression of its religious convictions, or of its religious affections. This, again, has given to the Catholic Church a new relative position in the social state of England.

Another cause, too remarkable to be passed over, is the change which took place in two of the most important of our colonies—Canada and Australia. In Canada the Catholic Church was always strong, highly respected, and possessed of great social influence. This was much increased by political changes in the colony, and by the diminution of the exclusive privileges of the Established Churches. In Australia, by the wise and equitable government of Sir Richard Bourke, the Catholic Church and the two Establishments were alike admitted, *pro rata*, to participate in the public revenues.

This has given to the Catholic Church in Australia a position and a pre-eminence which it does not possess elsewhere. We mention these two instances because they have undoubtedly reacted upon the mother country, and the stream of legislation has for these thirty years steadily set towards placing the Catholic Church in England on the same footing as in the colonies.

But all these were only preludes to an act which needed a higher hand. The Supreme Pontiff, by the Apostolical Letters, *Universalis Ecclesia*, created in England a third epoch of its spiritual history. We are too near the great event to be fully conscious of its magnitude. They who shall be removed from it by a century will perceive its full proportions and see the outline of its results. Perhaps there has hardly been in the history of the Church a more timely and visibly providential event than the restoration of the Hierarchy at the special moment when it occurred. The whole Established Church had been in agitation on the subject of baptism. But the excitement on this special doctrine had been merged in a deeper and more primary question respecting the authority of the Anglican Church in matters of doctrine, and the authority of the Crown as the ultimate judge of ecclesiastical appeals. Every other subject gave way to a discussion of the royal supremacy. The press groaned with pamphlets and protests, replies and rejoinders, upon the subject of the supremacy of the Crown. It was boldly vindicated by the Erastian party; it was impatiently borne by the High Establishment school; it was cavilled at by some, and utterly denied by others. It was denounced

by many as an usurpation upon the office of the Church, as a bondage to the civil power, as a violation of the apostolical authority of the Episcopate. Except a few thorough-going Erastians, nobody defended it. Almost everybody lamented it as an excessive claim of the Tudors, and a perpetual danger to the Church of England. Eighteen hundred Anglican clergymen joined in a public protest against it. Just at this moment, in the midst of this agitation, controversy, and awakening of reason and conscience to the true character of the royal supremacy, the shadow of a Divine hand fell upon men, and another supremacy was seen to assert itself in England. The English people beheld a hierarchy of thirteen sees, under a metropolitan, a prince of the Church, rise like an exhalation from the ground, or descend as if from heaven. The calm power, majesty, and might of the Divine supremacy of the Vicar of Jesus Christ revealed more than ever by contrast the impotence and the unlawfulness of any human supremacy over the spiritual mission of the Church. It seemed that the very moment had been chosen which should exhibit in the strongest light this contrast of the true and the false. Then began one of the greatest religious tumults of our days. The Parliament, the municipal cities, the universities, the counties, the Anglican bishops, the clergy of the Establishment, and we know not who besides, were all in a frenzy of excitement, protesting with one voice against Pius IX. for doing what S. Gregory I. had done before. The storm blew furiously. The Protestants threatened a re-enactment of penal laws. Some Catholics blamed

everybody who had a hand in the measure, not sparing the Holy See. Croakers croaked. The wise and the prudent were oracular. The timid were frightened; some good men even were carried away by the alarm. It was said that Catholicism was put back in England by a century; that conversions were stopped; that the peaceful relations between Catholics and Protestants were broken; old antipathies revived; and all the gains since the Emancipation, and even the Emancipation itself, endangered.

Now we have always been of those who believed none of these things; but who rather believe, and that most firmly and profoundly, the direct reverse of all these things. We have ever believed that the Hierarchy was the greatest boon that the Vicar of our Lord could have bestowed upon England; that without it Catholicism would have languished; that its efforts would have wanted unity and permanence; that its productiveness would have been only partially developed; that the very gains of the Emancipation would have become dangerous to us; that if vicars-apostolic suffice for a people under penal laws, nothing less than an ordered and perfect Hierarchy will suffice for a Catholic people restored to freedom; that from the moment of its re-establishment date both the full re-organisation of the Church by the restoration of its old Catholic elements, and the immense development of ecclesiastical order and spiritual fruitfulness which we now behold. All the noise and heat and vehemence we regard as a cheap price for such a gift; nay, even as conducive to its confirmation. It is held by canonists

that pontifical acts need only publication to oblige the conscience. The uproar published the Papal decree. The English people became the *cursores* and apparitors of the Sovereign Pontiff. They made the ears of every man to tingle with the clamorous proclamation, that the supremacy of the Vicar of our Lord had reasserted itself in England, and claimed of all men submission to its direction. The royal supremacy paled before the splendour of the head of the Church of all nations upon earth.

Through all the storm of this conflict one name stands out with a clearness which almost isolated him from all others among the pastors and faithful who bore a foremost part in that great contest. A Jesuit in Rome once asked an English Catholic what he thought of the restoration of the Hierarchy in England. He answered by saying that he believed it to be a Divine providence of the most evident kind, adding that it was visibly '*digitus Dei.*' The Jesuit answered, with true Italian felicity, '*Coll' anello di Pio Nono.*' We may further add that the hand to which the execution of the Apostolic Letters, under the seal of the Fisherman, was committed, was the hand of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. It is well known that his friends thought his life in peril; that they endeavoured to prevail on him to continue abroad, saying that his landing in England would be dangerous to him; that they advised him not to appear in the streets, and even to leave the country. And it was generally known that he refused to do any of these things; and that the firmness and calmness of his carriage not only sup-

ported the courage of other men, but chiefly prevailed to gain the signal victory which was then achieved.

For many years after this event, both in England and abroad, and even in Rome, Catholics were still found to repeat that the restoration of the Hierarchy and the uproar which it excited, had put back Catholicism for generations; that the tide of conversion had been arrested; that the growth of all the works of the Church had been indefinitely retarded. During those years these used to be the first questions proposed by the Catholics of France on meeting their English brethren. The same representations were urged in high quarters, even in Rome itself, where the subject was made matter of formal inquiry. It is impossible for us to do more in this article than to mark in outline the true refutation of all these assertions.

And, first of all, we are at a loss to conceive how the restoration of the Hierarchy, which gives back to a mutilated part of the Church its full ecclesiastical perfection, can be an obstacle to the progress of the Catholic religion. Nor, again, how the more public and conspicuous action of the Church, by means of a Hierarchy governing with an open exercise of its prerogative, can hinder the conversion of a people. Nor, again, how the personal influence and action of thirteen Bishops, in the government and organisation of their dioceses, can fail to produce a result both on the mass of the people and on individuals incomparably beyond the effect produced by eight vicars-apostolic. But, in fact, the very reverse is true. We may affirm that the great expansion of the Church dates from the restora-

tion of the Hierarchy; that it marked the commencement of a new period of which it was itself the instrumental cause. We can only give, in the most rapid way, a few statistics; but they will suffice.

Referring to the Catholic Directories, we find the number of churches and priests in England stated as follows:

| | Churches. | Priests. |
|---|---|---|
| 1830 . . . . . | 410 | — |
| 1840 . . . . . | 457 | 542 |
| 1850 . . . . . | 587 | 788 |
| 1862 . . . . . | 824 | 1215 |

To take the vicariate of London alone, we have—

| | | | Religious Houses: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Churches. | Priests. | Men. | Women. |
| 1850 . . | 104 | 168 | 2 | 17 |

At this time the vicariate was divided into the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark. In Westminster alone we have—

| | | | Religious Houses: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Churches. | Priests. | Men. | Women. |
| 1862 . . | 80 | 184 | 12 | 28 |

Thus the increase in Westminster alone is such that, in every particular except churches, it exceeds the return of the whole vicariate before the division. Other dioceses, such as Birmingham, Salford, and Liverpool, would no doubt present the same result; but we have not the statistics at hand.

Such is the expansion and multiplication of the Church since the restoration of the Hierarchy, as certified by statistics. But these afford only a superficial test. If we would take a more adequate measure, we

must look to something more than figures. The Hierarchy ingrafted the Catholic Church in England upon the Episcopate of the world; and the influx of the universal Church came into it once more with the full tide of life and vigour. The result was dioceses, cathedrals, chapters, missionary parishes. Then councils provincial and diocesan; then the provisions and traditions of the canon law, adjusted by the Holy See to the condition of our country. Then an intimate union of action and counsel with Rome, such as before had not been attainable. Every Bishop in the Hierarchy became a channel of the spirit and mind of the Holy See to his diocese, with a fulness and a minuteness not possible in the vast vicariates of other days. Hence has come an elevation and a deepening of the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal life, and an activity and a diffusion of Catholic devotion never known before.

The inevitable result of this great expansion of the Church is to multiply its wants, and to expose its members to special social dangers; and of these we will say a few words, or, at least, of the chief of them.

We will begin by briefly noting some of the principal needs of the Church in England.

First, and before all, are needed proper diocesan seminaries, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, for the education of the priesthood. As yet such do not exist. As yet such could hardly be formed. The vicars-apostolic of other days had done well in forming ecclesiastical colleges, in which clerical and lay students should be educated together. Out of their poverty they could do no more. And the mixture with

ecclesiastical students, if less advantageous to them, was very advantageous to the lay students. But the decrees of Trent are express, and remain to be executed. They provide that to every cathedral church, and to all greater churches, such as the metropolitan, primatial, patriarchal, there shall be attached a school of tonsured clerics of whom there is reasonable hope that they will persevere in the ecclesiastical life. They provide also, that if any diocese, by reason of poverty, be unable to maintain such a seminary, the metropolitan in the provincial council, or with two of his senior suffragans, shall take measures for the establishment of a seminary common to two or more dioceses. The metropolitan has a *conscientia onerata* to see to the execution of this decree. Until lately dioceses have not existed in England, and the decree has had no application. With the Hierarchy it began to oblige; and now we may trust that the time of its execution is come. In some of the larger of our dioceses, means will not be wanting for a lesser and a greater seminary. In the smaller dioceses, perhaps, a lesser seminary only could for a time be formed. But in all a beginning could be made; and the beginning is half the work. It may seem paradoxical to say that a seminary is even more needful in the smaller than in the larger dioceses. But it is true; for a small clergy has greater need of some centre of ecclesiastical spirit, and of the influence of example and theological help, than a large one, which possesses in itself more resources and a more vigorous life. Moreover, a seminary would certainly multiply the number of such a clergy, by inspiring a desire for the priest-

hood and generating vocations among the youths and even the boys of the diocese. The chief and acknowledged difficulty is the want of professors, but these may be supplied by a little foresight, and the English College in Rome seems providentially formed to meet this want. One or two picked men from each diocese would return home in four or five years capable of making at least a sufficient beginning.

But it is not our object nor our duty to enter further into this great subject, which, as we know, has long engaged the most serious thoughts of our Bishops and of other persons.

A second want is an adequate system of education for the poor and the middle classes. In the Report of the Poor-School Committee of 1853 it is stated that the Catholic schools in England and Wales amount to more than 500. In the Report of the Assistant Commissioner to the Privy Council in 1861 the number is stated at over 700. The number of Catholic children in England and Wales requiring education is put at 160,000. The number under education, as given by the Assistant Commissioner, is over 80,000. If in London alone there be 200,000 Catholics, there will be one-fifth between the ages of five and fifteen, or 40,000 needing education. Suppose 10,000 to be an excess, and 12,000 to be at school, as the diocesan returns show, there will be 18,000 or 20,000 Catholic children for whom, after all the efforts which have been made out of our poverty, schools have yet to be provided. To find funds sufficient for this purpose a system is needed which will not only gather or ask alms of Catholics, but so address

the intellect, heart, and will of the faithful as to move them to deny themselves for the accomplishment of this great and vital work. We have a full belief that such a system of appeal, if made vigorously and maintained perseveringly, would in a generation adequately provide for our Catholic children.

Another great want is that of a higher literary and scientific education for our laymen—analogous, in fact, to that furnished by the Protestant universities.

And this leads at once to a question of the highest importance, a solution of which must be promptly made, or it will solve itself by drifting beyond all control. It is well known that Catholics have been admitted for a long period of years to reside and study in Cambridge, but not to take degrees. Until 1854 they were absolutely excluded from Oxford. By a recent change, sanctioned by Act of Parliament, Catholics may reside and study in the colleges and halls of Oxford, and proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In Cambridge the degree of Master of Arts is also open to them. In the course of the nine years since 1854 it is said that twenty Catholics have passed through Oxford; and it is likely that others will enter. Now two questions arise —first, whether it be expedient that Catholics should avail themselves of the liberty thus granted to them to study at the two Universities? and, secondly, if so, whether it be expedient that they should reside one by one within the walls of the existing colleges and halls, or that a Catholic college and hall be founded to receive them.

We will endeavour to state with the fullest force the reasons alleged on either side.

First. It is urged that inasmuch as, by the repeal of the penal laws, Catholics are already admitted into the social life and political power of the English people, it is consequent and most advantageous that they should re-enter also into the tradition of intellectual culture and development. If they cannot regain the Universities which the Church created, at least they are no longer excluded from partaking of the benefits they confer.

Secondly. It is undeniable that the exclusive possession of the Universities gives to the Protestant Englishman an advantage over his Catholic fellow-countrymen; and that in order to cope or to compete with Protestants in public and private life, Catholics must be armed with their weapons, and share in the cultivation which constitutes their superiority.

Thirdly. The two Universities, especially Oxford, retain in a high degree their mediæval if not Catholic character; and it is safer for Catholics to study there than in Paris, in Pisa, or other continental cities.

Fourthly. Inasmuch as Catholics are admitted into the private and public life of England, it is of great importance that they should enter while young into relations with the men whom afterwards they must consort with in all branches of the public service, and in most of the relations of private life. The time of our exile being over, it is well that our rising generation should take their place in English society.

Fifthly. It is certain that we can in no other way

obtain the advantages of so high a culture in literature and science. The long traditional maturity and accumulated knowledge of the two Universities leave Catholics without a hope of competing with Protestants in these fields.

Sixthly. Inasmuch as Catholics must be mixed up with Protestants in every walk and state of life, and that more and more as the religious animosities of the past are mitigated by the gradual fusion and blending of families and classes, there cannot be any special danger in their beginning early to learn how to carry themselves towards their Protestant fellow-citizens; or rather it would be far safer for them to acquire betimes such habits of mind as will fit them for their future contact with anti-Catholic opinions and practices in after-life.

Seventhly. The question is, after all, hardly under control, for already many Catholics have availed themselves of the admission to Oxford and Cambridge, and many more will do so. We must accept the fact, and deal with it as best we may. Now it is obvious that a Catholic youth, isolated in a Protestant college, without chapel, or director, or religious instruction, or the example of Catholic companions, must be less able to resist the influences of the anti-Catholic atmosphere to which he is exposed all day long from the whole system and action of the college. Place him in a hall or college founded for Catholics only, under the government of a Catholic president and fellows, with Catholic discipline and instruction, and all the helps of the spiritual life—daily Mass, confession, communion, fasts

and festivals—such a youth would be sustained and raised above himself, and a Catholic public opinion would be created within the walls, which would resist the contagion and infection of the surrounding intellectual and moral evils. It seems evident that the establishment of such a hall is rendered necessary by facts beyond our control, be our wishes what they may.

Eighthly. Such a hall would be an example of Catholic education and discipline which could not fail powerfully to affect the Universities, and to show by contrast that the alleged inferiority of intellectual culture is more than compensated by spiritual advantages, not only greater in degree, but of a higher order.

Lastly. Such a hall might exercise a powerful influence in counteracting the downward tendency of our modern University education, and the development of a license of opinion which is not only anti-Catholic, but anti-Christian.

Such we believe to be a fair statement, in outline at least, of the arguments of those who are in favour of the proposal to establish Catholic halls in Oxford and Cambridge, and to complete the education of our youth in the two national Universities.

On the other hand, the reasons of those who oppose it are as follows:

First. They neither undervalue the importance of intellectual culture, nor overrate the present intellectual standard among the youths or the professors of our Catholic colleges; but they are of opinion that it is the mission and the duty of the Church to provide such intellectual culture within its own unity. The Univer-

sities of Oxford and Cambridge were creations of the Catholic Church, and what it has created once it may create again. We are well aware that the Church in England cannot now create for itself a system of education which shall possess the traditional maturity and extension of our Universities. But '*nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesiæ.*' We may begin in this day as they first began who came to the schools of S. Frideswide. The Church of the first ages used the schools of Athens and Alexandria so long as it had none of its own. But the first moment it could form true Christian and Catholic schools the Church withdrew its sons from all contact with an anti-Catholic, or even an un-Catholic, teaching.

Secondly. They are of opinion that the anti-Catholic atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge cannot fail to be secretly and deeply injurious to the faith and morals of the Catholic students. It is a known fact that, of the Catholics who have studied at Trinity College, Dublin, few have escaped without more or less of injury, not only to piety, but to faith. And yet the Catholic student there has the advantage of living in one of the most energetically Catholic cities in the world, and of possessing in abundance all the means of his own sanctification and perseverance. They have the best evidence for knowing that Catholics have lost their faith in Trinity College. Hundreds, it is said, could be easily counted up—two of them a dean and a bishop in the Irish Establishment. And even those who do not lose their faith are generally but little attached to their religion, and do not regularly frequent the Sacra-

ments. A Catholic Bishop who studied there has been heard to say that his preservation from perdition amidst so many dangers was as great a miracle as the preservation of Daniel in the lions' den. The same prelate is always anxious to keep young men from Trinity College. Such is known to be the judgment of the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Ireland.

If such has been the effect of Trinity College upon those who have every help to resist it, what would be the effect of Oxford and Cambridge upon the handful of Catholics who might study there? Hardly is there to be found any atmosphere more powerful to transform and to assimilate those who live in it to its own properties. What takes place in Dublin, with almost every check to counteract it, may be reasonably predicted of Oxford and Cambridge, where everything is intensely anti-Catholic, and the anti-Catholic spirit dominant and, in a manner, irresistible.

Thirdly. They believe that even the discipline and spirit of a Catholic hall would not suffice against the powerful allurements and subtil fascinations, intellectual and worldly, of our English Universities. It is not intended that the members of a Catholic hall at Oxford or at Cambridge should live as hermits or as exiles from academical society. The making of friendships, and the entering into relations with Protestants who will be their companions and colleagues in after-life, is part of the argument in favour of such a system. They who oppose this view believe that such contact and society, which in our Universities is very free and irresponsible, would be most dangerous to those who as

yet are immature in mind and character. They think that there is evidence enough of the injurious effects of English Protestant society upon the Catholics who court it or live much in it. They believe that the fidelity of Catholics showed more brightly a generation ago, through the darkness of the penal laws and of social exile, than now when the sun shines upon them. They are not anxious, therefore, to see the rising Catholic youth brought under those influences, which dazzle and unman their elders, at an age when they are least able to discern and to resist them. They believe that a thorough and hardy training in Catholic faith and morality, and in science and literature read in their light, with the practices and instincts of Catholic devotion, is a better preparation for the conflict which awaits them in the world, and the only safeguard against its fascinations. They would rather see them trained and cultivated by a higher literary and scientific discipline, from the age of eighteen to twenty-two, at Oscott or Ushaw, than see Oscott or Ushaw transferred to Oxford and Cambridge. They believe that Oscott and Ushaw transferred to Oxford and Cambridge would become more or less acclimatised, and that they would lose their high Catholic spirit and power to mould the character of their youths.

Fourthly. They believe that the whole argument so elaborately and eloquently developed by Dr. Newman, in his Lectures on University Education, applies with direct force to this subject. They believe that not only would all history and philosophy be anti-Catholic as delivered from the chairs of Anglican professors, but

that it would not be worthy of the name of history or philosophy if withdrawn from the light and guidance of Catholic theology. Whatsoever, then, be the lectures delivered within the walls of the Catholic hall, the teaching of the University and the examinations of the University, which in the end determine the course of study, would inevitably penetrate into the college, and prevail over any individual teacher. Count de Maistre said that history since the Reformation has been in conspiracy against the Catholic Church. We may say that philosophy since Descartes has to a wider extent than is suspected joined in the conspiracy. And yet these are essentially the history and philosophy delivered at the English Universities.

Fifthly. They cannot find any ground for the sanguine hope that a Catholic hall would teach the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge how to live, or leaven the life and spirit of the Universities. When they see what is the action and power of the whole Hierarchy and priesthood, with all its ecclesiastical organisation, aided by the examples of the faithful, upon English society at large, they have little reason to believe that a Catholic hall will do the work of an evangelist in Oxford and Cambridge. The Church acts as a solid and compact body upon the loose and dissolving classes of English society; and yet, though in one sense how great, in another how little, is the impression it makes. But the intellectual and spiritual antagonism at the Universities is compact, disciplined, and tenacious to the highest conceivable degree. The shadow of Peter might, indeed, work a miracle upon it.

But there is little reason to believe that the shadow of Peter would be cast by a Catholic hall. They are not without fear that the effect might be diametrically the reverse. Much more would be expected of a Catholic hall than perhaps any institution could fulfil; and one Catholic scandal would undo the influence of ten Catholic examples of good.

Sixthly. They are of opinion that the power the Catholic Church exercises over the people of England comes precisely from the fact that it is separate from it, not mingled with it or dependent upon it. They are ready to believe that a Catholic University in England would powerfully affect both Oxford and Cambridge by its more perfect order and discipline; and that men who desire the welfare of their sons would be strongly attracted to a University of which Ushaw and Oscott may be taken as the preludes. They are the living witnesses of what mediæval Oxford and Cambridge were. And we know that even Protestants, who are anxious to save their sons from the squandering and vice of our Universities, have of late years contemplated the sending them to a Catholic college.

Seventhly. They believe that the risk to a number of individuals is not to be weighed against the danger of committing the Church to a false position. Much as we must deplore that any should be exposed to the occasion of losing either faith or piety, still even this must be endured rather than implicate the Church in relations which involve false principles; for the loss of individuals is an evil to be measured, but the admission of a false principle is a fountain of evils of which no

measure can be conceived. It would be a sad but safer alternative to endure the loss of any number of individuals than to place the Church in the condition it occupies in the Universities of Germany. Syncretism has borne, and will bear, its bitter fruits there as a warning to us.

Eighthly. The founding of such a hall would be a public and authoritative sanction, and even invitation to Catholics to send their sons to Protestant Universities. The Church itself would be giving the impulse in that direction.

Ninthly. Such a course would indefinitely postpone all efforts towards founding purely Catholic colleges for higher lay education; a work absolutely needed already, and becoming every day more urgently and vitally necessary as the Catholic Church expands its own system, and multiplies its members among the middle and higher classes.

Tenthly. They submit that the question of founding a hall in the Anglican Universities, so as to participate in a common secular education, reserving the particular religious instruction, is no longer open. It seems rather to involve a concession of the whole principle for which we have been so long and so earnestly contending. This alleged separateness of secular and religious teaching was the basis of Mr. Stanley's Irish education scheme, against which the Catholic Church in Ireland so firmly opposed itself; and from which, under the sanction of the Holy See, it is now extricating itself. This also is the basis of the godless colleges, which the Holy See has declared to be '*intrinsecè peri-*

*culosa,'* and to which the Synod of Thurles warns the faithful not to send their sons. It forbids also any priest to teach in them. This also was the motive for founding the Catholic University, so expressly approved by Rome and so cherished by the Episcopate and people of Ireland. This, again, is the scheme of secular and general education which, when proposed by the Government, caused the great educational movement of the last five-and-twenty years. Against this it was that the Catholics of England also protested, and from which they so jealously and successfully protected themselves by the agreement embodied in the Minutes of the Privy Council in 1847. It would seem, therefore, to be a departure from the whole of our past conduct, and a giving up of the principles for which we have so strongly contended. How shall we refuse a common secular education for our poor children if we court and catch at it for the children of the rich?

Eleventhly. It would seem also that this is the worst moment for making such a compromise. If it was permissible for the Catholics in Ireland to submit to the National Education Board, and to avail themselves of the only education possible to them by reason of their poverty, certainly the rich families of England can find no such excuse for seeking admission to our Protestant Universities. They have abundant means of educating their children; and if the standard of intellectual cultivation in our Catholic colleges be not so high as at Oxford and Cambridge, no amount of intellectual culture or social advantage can be weighed in the scale against the least measure of fidelity to the

Catholic faith and Catholic morality. It is to be always remembered that the Irish national education, if it was un-Catholic, was at least not anti-Catholic. If it was deprived of positive Catholic teaching and influence, it was not guided nor impelled by an anti-Catholic spirit. But with our Universities this is not so. They are formally, essentially, traditionally, and, so far as any influence Catholics can exert upon them, immutably anti-Catholic. The English schism and the Protestant heresy have penetrated to the bone, and poisoned the life-blood of Oxford and Cambridge, the great schools of Anglicanism—which they will never cease to be, except by exchanging the partial rationalism of the Reformation for that fuller rationalism which is its legitimate development. And this greatly strengthens their argument, and confirms their opposition to such a scheme of united education for Catholics and Protestants. They would have objected to the sending of our Catholic youths to Oxford and Cambridge at any period since the Reformation, when the Universities were at their highest point of Christian belief, while as yet the inspiration and integrity of Holy Scripture were held sacred, and Rationalism had as yet found no formal entrance into them. How much more, then, at this time when the modern spirit of cultivated unbelief, in the form of criticism and philosophy, has not only entered but established itself, so as to be the predominant intellectual tendency of the more studious members of the Universities. The Protestant Bishops of Winchester and London have confessed what Dr. Colenso has repeated—that the graduates of Oxford

and Cambridge are turning away from Anglican orders. The *Times* may try to persuade men that this is because the clergy are underpaid. They who are acquainted with the Universities and public opinion know that the true reason is an intellectual departure from the traditional Christianity of England. And is it at such a moment as this that Catholics will forsake the strongholds, which have protected them these three hundred years, to venture into the midst of the occasions of unbelief presented by the Rationalism which gains head day by day? The Catholic Church in Ireland no sooner begins to feel its freedom, and with freedom the return of strength, than it begins at once to liberate itself from the un-Catholic system of national education. It is no time, therefore, for the Catholics in England to make a step so retrograde, and so utterly at variance with the whole march and extension of the Catholic Church in this country. We have already noticed the wonderful unfoldings of the Church—how the Catholics who lay scattered and hid in the millions of the English people have been drawn and knit together by the Hierarchy into a visible body, which every year increases in bulk and vigour and fruitfulness. The Church is reproducing its past with an exuberance of life and a precision of action which leaves us nothing to desire but patience and fidelity to the immutable principles and the supernatural instincts of the faith. If in the times of their poverty the vicars-apostolic could found and raise three such colleges as S. Edmund's, Oscott, and Ushaw, why should not the united Catholic Hierarchy of England found a University? They did it when

Catholics were few, scattered, and poor in the extreme. We live in days when Catholics are numerous, united, and conscious of their union, and, if not rich, yet possessed of wealth as compared with the poverty of the past. If the Catholics of the penal laws could do such things, why should not the free Catholics of to-day do greater things, if only they have the zeal, the fidelity, the high Catholic instincts, and the unbending integrity of Catholic principles which, as we have said, were luxuriant in our darker days. God forbid that these virtues should droop and fade in our days of peace.

Twelfthly. Nor is it to be thought that the founding of a Catholic University in England is a dream of Utopia. A body which has in one day founded thirteen dioceses and developed them, as we have shown above, need shrink from no enterprise. It possesses already all the elements of a University. Its seven colleges of Sedgley Park, Mount S. Mary's, S. Edward's, Downside, Ratcliffe, Beaumont Lodge, Ampleforth, and its four greater colleges of Stonyhurst, Oscott, Old Hall, and Ushaw, naturally lead up to and demand a University for their completion, as an arch demands its keystone. Neither is there lack of materials for such a work. The Church of all nations can draw upon the nationality of all nations for its institutions. The Society of Jesus alone contains in itself men capable of holding professors' chairs in all the chief faculties of arts, literature, and science. For classical literature and Oriental languages, Germany is open to us; for theology, Italy; for science, history, modern languages, and literature, all Catholic nations—for if

Protestantism possesses the culture of England, the culture of other nations is Catholic. The founding of a Catholic University in England is therefore a thing not only to be desired, but to be achieved with no greater difficulty than besets all great enterprises; and all the enterprises of the Catholic Church are great, and none are difficult, because it is the Church which for eighteen hundred years has accomplished greater works in a Power above its own.[1]

But here we must leave this subject. We have done no more than enumerate the arguments *per summa capita*, reserving to ourselves, if need be, a fuller and more adequate treatment of it.

Another want is greater practical efficiency and more public experience in our laymen. The social exile in which they have lived, and their exclusion, if not by statute, yet by traditional prejudice, from public and even private employments, have seriously diminished our capacities of usefulness. No English Catholic has any chance of being returned by an English constituency. The only Catholic member for an English seat is returned by the legitimate influence of a Catholic family. But in time this evil would correct itself, if in our larger towns Catholics were found with capacities for public business—we will not say up to the measure of the late Frederick Lucas, but the same in kind—we mean manly good sense, with a thorough mastery of their subject. If among the Catholic members there were men who would thoroughly study, each

[1] This was written before the directions of the Holy See decided the question.

one branch of the public service—finance, poor law, colonies, trade in its details, and the like—they would certainly command the ear of the House at all times, and where any subject of the Catholic Church is concerned would be listened to with respect. The English people are easily conciliated by any public usefulness or power of beneficence.

The only other want we will notice is that hitherto the Catholic Church of England has no organ or provision whatever for foreign missions. It may be said that England is itself a missionary country, and could hardly be expected to undertake missions to other lands, or to give to others what it hardly possesses itself. But this does not seem to us to be true. England is a special debtor to the world—first to its own colonies, next to the nations and races which are opened to it by its commerce. It would be a shame and a rebuke to us if, while Protestant England acknowledges this duty, and sends its missionaries abroad at the cost of nearly half a million a year, Catholic England should do nothing. Such was not the temper of the faithful who lived under the heathen empire of Rome. They regarded the world-wide structure of its power, with all the activity of its material life, as the means and conditions by which they might traverse its vast circuit, and bear the light of salvation to the most distant races of mankind. The time is come for us to recognise this duty—we may say this providential call; and in obeying we shall obtain great and specific blessings. It is known that no congregation in France obtains more or better vocations than the Congrégation des

Missions Etrangères. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church; and the Salle des Martyrs inspires vocations in the generous youth of France. So it would be with England. We believe that a College of Foreign Missions, worthily directed, would elevate the ecclesiastical spirit and multiply vocations even for the Church at home. But we can only touch by the way a question which demands a direct and ample treatment.

So much in few words of our chief wants; of those at least which we think it within our province to notice. It may be well, perhaps, to add also a few on our dangers.

One copious and manifold source of danger is the anti-Catholic atmosphere—the Germans would call it the time-spirit—or the dominant current of thought and action which pervades the age and society in which we are born. No one wholly escapes its influence; most are deeply penetrated with it. We doubt whether it was so dangerous to Catholics before the Emancipation as it is now. In those days the direct action of persecuting laws ground down or bore down the courage of multitudes. But the allurements of English society and English public opinion had little power. They were hostile, harassing, and repulsive. Now they are far more perilous; being bland, insidious, and seducing. Public opinion is Protestant, and Protestantism is formally opposed to the idea of a Church divinely constituted and endowed. The first principles and maxims of Catholic education—such as submission to a teaching authority, fear of error, mistrust of our own judgments—are extinct. This spirit begins in our

schools, pervades our Universities, and animates the whole of English society. We cannot draw breath without inhaling it; and the effect of it is visible upon men who do not suspect themselves of any want of Catholic instincts. It has become unconscious; and what strikes and offends foreign Catholics is hardly, or not at all, perceived by those who are born into this atmosphere.

Another serious danger, which might also have been treated as a want, proceeds from the absence of a Catholic literature. As we have said, the culture of the English people passed into the hands of the men of the Reformation, leaving the Catholic remnant stripped of everything. The first race of Catholics, such as Stapleton and Harding, had received their cultivation before the schism. Many of those who immediately succeeded, such as Parsons and Baker, had been educated in the Universities. With them the English Cathclic literature ceased until the reign of James II. At that time a few controversial octavos, without name of the author, and printed either abroad or at the private printing-press in Oxford, were published; but a literature—that is, works on history, biography, science physical and moral, or of general information, poetry, or fiction — by Catholic hands has never existed. The Catholics of England have been compelled either to read foreign Catholic works, which are accessible only to a few, or the books of anti-Catholic writers, or, as with the great majority, to be deprived of the wholesome culture and information on which the development of the intelligence depends. We can never forget the

passage in Lord Macaulay's *History of England*[2] in which he indulges in a misplaced satire upon the English written by Catholics in the time of James II. It was assuredly bad enough. Those days are happily past, and Catholics can speak and write their mother English with no inferiority to their anti-Catholic fellow countrymen. Nevertheless, a Catholic literature is yet to be formed; and its non-existence entails on our youth disadvantages, the extent and perilous character of which it is difficult to estimate.

But a still graver danger seems to us to be one which many least suspect. We are less afraid of any evils *ab extra*, howsoever grave or imminent, than of any evil, howsoever light it may appear, which penetrates the interior spirit of what we may call the Catholic society of England. We have said once and again that the old days of storm were rough, but safer for us. We have much more fear of the sunshine. When Xenophon's soldiers beheld the sea, they fell on their knees and worshipped. When Linnæus first saw the common furze in full bloom we are told that he knelt down and bared his head. Whether these ecstasies be historical or not, we will not stop to inquire; but they illustrate the fascination of things long hoped for, found at last, and the proneness of man to pay a superstitious adoration, like the Athenians, to the unknown God. We should be gravely alarmed if there appeared, among other signs of the times, a world-worship among Catholics; and above all if that world were the English world, which has only just begun to tolerate the faith

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 110, 111.

and the persons of Catholics. The polity of England as it exists in statutes is indeed changed, but the policy of Government lags behind the letter of the law. The anti-Catholic spirit of English society controls the public administration, from the patronage of the Crown to the votes of the parish vestry. So likewise in what is called 'society,' that is, in the customs and intercourse of the richer families of the higher and middle classes. In the last thirty years Catholics have penetrated into this sanctuary, as adventurous travellers into S. Sophia. Too often, we fear, they have put off their shoes upon the threshold, and even, like our adventurous Captain Burton at Mecca, have entered as sound Mahometans. Now it seems to us that any gratuitous conformity on the part of Catholics to the rubrics of worldliness, and still more any simulation of the tone of an un-Catholic society, even by the concealment of their own faith, much more by their wearing the vestments of another religion, would be not only an infidelity towards God, but what some people may think much worse—a signal imprudence towards the world they desire to propitiate by their worship. English society, with all its vices, does, after all, represent the English character. There is something downright, manly, and decided in it; and it respects the same—that is, its own—qualities in others as much as it despises and ridicules all servile or petty eagerness to court its favour. Downright, masculine, and decided Catholics—more Roman than Rome, and more ultramontane than the Pope himself—may enter English society and be treated with goodwill and respect every-

where, if only they hold their own with self-respect and a delicate consideration of what is due to others. It is this very boldness which inspires both respect and confidence. It is the pledge of sincerity, and sincerity is respected by everybody worthy of the name of Englishman. No greater blunder could be committed than to try to propitiate Englishmen or English society by a tame, diluted, timid, or worldly Catholicism.

But it is not our purpose to write a homily, and our pages warn us to draw to an end. A few words, and no more, we may add on the remedies we need. Philosophers divide forces into mechanical and dynamical; and we would say that what we need is not so much in the mechanical order as in that of the interior forces of will and character, both natural and supernatural. We have great works to do, and at first sight little material out of which to create them. But it is His work who chooses 'things that are not, that He may bring to nought the things that are.' And it is the paradox and the glory of the Church, as verified in its history, to do the greatest works with the slenderest means. At every turn we are met by the same objection. At the commencement of every great work we are asked, But where are the men, and where is the money? It is not in impatience, but in pure conviction, we would answer, Vigour creates men and coins money. If we had only vigour, as our Lord said of faith, all things in His service would be easy to us. We are in an age of enterprise, and are busied with all manner of schemes for works of piety and charity. Even our amusements have taken a pious turn. We have concerts, theatricals,

balls, excursions, and the like, for religious ends. The world, itself, it seems, is becoming pious. 'All things to me are lawful.' But this is only on the surface. We have a deeper service of the Spirit to learn and to practise; a mightier power is needed wherewith to achieve the important works we have to do. Amphion built cities, but concerts will not remove mountains; and the Church in England has mountains in its path. We do not wish to disquiet the conscience of any one taking a harmless interest in innocent things; but there is a harder service yet to be done, and when begun, these softer things will go over the horizon as the thistledown is blown away from a field of battle. There is a sharper note in the trumpet which gives no uncertain sound; and it is calling us to higher paths than to Willis's Rooms. Catholics have taught the world to build and endow churches, colleges, monasteries—out of their own sole inheritance, for the love of Jesus and of the souls for whom He died. Catholics have taught the world to sell all and follow Christ; that His words are to be taken to the letter now as in the beginning, in England as in Palestine. Catholics have taught the world the law of almsgiving—that it ought to be proportionate, and not out of superfluity, or of that which costs us nothing. And we are bound to bear our witness that the world has in some degree profited by the lesson. Noble examples in the last twenty years have been and are among our brethren of the separation. And we pray God to bless their generosity with the reward of a perfect faith. But they who have done these noble deeds have not done them by

the above-named means. They have not learned these means of us. We rather have learned them of the world, against which it behoved us always to bear witness to the highest wisdom and the highest good, which not only condemns evil, but gently discountenances the innocent but less-expedient way of serving our Master. Let every one enjoy his Christian liberty, but do not let us mistake the soft and the easy ways of charity for the spirit of the Church. In us it would be a degeneracy. And here we would leave the matter. We have an unlimited confidence in the charity which first measures the work to be done in the light of the Blessed Sacrament, and then its own means of doing it with crucifix in hand; and in the doing conceals itself so that the left hand knows not what the right hand doeth. On this we rely and to this we appeal, leaving all other forms of modern charity to drop off as the toys and gauds of infancy. 'When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away the things of a child.'[3]

And now, to sum up all we have said of our dangers, we would repeat that what we most fear is that Catholics may cast themselves willingly, or be drawn unconsciously, into the stream which is evidently carrying English society every year more and more decidedly and perceptibly towards worldliness and Rationalism. The growth of worldliness in every form, the appearance of moral evils in our domestic life, the

[3] 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

breaking down of the barriers which guarded the last generation; the lower, laxer, freer habits, not only of men but of women, not only of mature age but of the young, both before and after marriage; the growth and multiplication of forms of social corruption never known before, or, at least, never so systematically practised and so habitually connived at; the abdication of authority by parents, and the derision of authority by children;—all these and many more signs are abroad to warn us that a dangerous future is before us, and to awaken Catholics to a redoubled vigilance over themselves and their children, and a greater fidelity to the Church which, with a gentle austerity, restrains them from many points of contact with the anti-Catholic society of England. If any one desire a signal example of our meaning, let him read a recent article in the *Saturday Review*, misnamed, we think, by an unseasonable jocularity, 'Frisky Matrons.' We see nothing to laugh at in an evil which, like the head-disease called *plica polonica*, seems light and superficial, but really eats into the blood and bone. This is not the atmosphere to which we desire our Catholic women to be acclimatised, or in which we wish their daughters to be reared. The readers of the *Times* will not need us to remind them of the articles on 'Pretty Horsebreakers,' and on the growing infrequency of marriage among the young men of the higher classes of society. But we will not pursue these subjects further. This is not the atmosphere in which the Catholics of the penal laws would have desired to immerse their sons and daughters; and we trust that

the Catholics of this day will be faithful to the high moral discernment and traditions of their fathers.

As to the other danger which lies before us from the development of Rationalism, it is impossible to do more than make a passing allusion to it. We are firmly convinced that in twenty years Rationalism will inundate England. In every century since the Reformation England has sunk lower and lower in formal rejection of revealed doctrine. It has passed through the two phases which have appeared in Germany, and it is entering upon the third. The period of Protestant dogmatism has given place to Protestant pietism, and this is now passing off into Protestant Rationalism—the prelude of philosophical Rationalism in the educated, and rude unbelief in the people. The school of Hooker, Andrews, and Laud numbers now but a handful of the population. It is an esoteric literature, not a living power. The school of Cecil, Venn, and Simeon has issued in a multitude of dissolving forms of opinion. The school of rationalistic Christianity is numerous and growing, and possesses many high places of trust and influence. Dr. Colenso is a fair sample of the actual and dominant tendency of religious belief among us. There can be little question that if the majority of the Anglican clergy be against him, the great majority of the Anglican laity would be with him. His common-sense scepticism is the true Anglican layman's faith. And we cannot doubt that every year this unbelief will be more widely spread, and that the two Universities will be thoroughly pervaded by it. Instead, therefore, of implicating ourselves in a sinking wreck, it is the

prudence of common sense, as well as the obligation of Catholic duty, to keep ourselves free, not only from all entanglements with it, but as far as possible from the vortex which it makes in going down. We earnestly hope that Catholics, while they manifest to their fellow countrymen the largest social charity and the truest public fidelity, will keep themselves from all contact with the traditions of anti-Catholic society and education. We repeat again, that an education deprived of the light of faith and the guidance of the Church is essentially anti-Catholic. Here there can be no neutrality: 'He that is not for Me is against Me.' There is but one safety for us: '*Sentire cum Ecclesia*,' in the whole extent of faith, discipline, worship, custom, and instincts—the most intimate and filial fidelity of intellect, heart, and will to the living voice of the Church of God.

## III.

## ON THE SUBJECTS PROPER TO THE ACADEMIA.

ON

# THE SUBJECTS PROPER TO THE ACADEMIA.

SESSION 1863-4.

THE office of addressing you to-day at the opening of the third year of the Academia, through a cause which we all deeply regret and earnestly hope may soon pass away, has fallen unexpectedly to me. And though I could wish it in other hands, above all in his who but for illness would have addressed you, I will do as best I can.

When the other day I heard the Congress of Malines recommend the establishment of Academias such as this, as one of the most efficacious means of counteracting the false and anti-Catholic principles abroad at this day, it was not without a lively satisfaction that I remembered that we in England, who are but in the rudiments of our Catholic organisation, have nevertheless for two years had our Academia of the Catholic religion. And on reviewing the subjects which have been treated by its members, we may congratulate ourselves, not only on the excellence of many of the discourses addressed to us, considered in themselves, but also on the timeliness and applicability of those discourses in relation to the errors of the days and

of the country in which we live. And this leads me to offer a few remarks, not on any specific thesis, but, as the custom is in Rome at the opening of each year, on an *argomento libero*—a wider and freer subject. I will therefore speak of the nature and intention of the Academia and of the subjects proper for its sessions. Its main intention, as you are well aware, is to exhibit the truths and principles of the Catholic faith and Church, not only in themselves, but in their relations to the world and to the age, to philosophy, to science, and to politics; and that not too only *absolutè*, but especially in the bearing of these truths and principles upon the errors of the time. The Academia in Rome was instituted, as you well know, in the beginning of this century, to combat the Voltairian infidelity and the anti-Catholic revolution, which from France began at that time to descend upon Italy. It is therefore what the Germans would call the *time-spirit* that we have to appreciate, and, so far as it is hostile to truth, to combat and, by God's help, to counteract.

With a view to such an appreciation, and to mark out in some degree the subjects proper to be treated, I would ask leave to make a few remarks upon the times in which we live.

It is, I know, a common illusion to imagine that our days are exceptional for good or for evil, and that they surpass in importance the times of our fathers. A slight event before our eyes is more vivid, real, and exciting than the great actions of past history. It needs a calm judgment, and a wide comparative survey of the events both of the past and of the present, not to be

carried away by this illusion. Shall I seem to incur this censure, if I say that the times in which we live are exceptionally great, and pregnant beyond most other times gone by with certain mature consequences of past events? Let me, then, endeavour to shelter myself from this fault and from the recoil of my own censure. It would seem to me that the age in which we live, that is the lifetime of our contemporaries, is marked by a crisis of exceptional magnitude and importance.

1. And first, the Protestant Reformation has reached its three hundredth year. It has run the career which is usually permitted to a heresy. Pelagianism and its *reliquiæ* infested Africa, Gaul, and Britain for less than three hundred years. Donatism ran out in three hundred years. Arianism and its offsets possessed first the political power of the Lower Empire, then the Gothic races, then Lombardy and Spain for about three hundred years. Where is Pelagianism? where is Donatism? and where is Arianism? S. Gregory the Great lived when Arianism was dying out. His pontificate inaugurated the beginning of a new period of Catholic faith and unity. In our day Protestantism has reached its term. As a religion it may be said hardly to exist, for its transformations are such, that the forms of fragmentary Christianity which pass under its name would be disowned by the Protestant Reformers. It has ceased to be a definite and intelligible form of spiritual conviction or of intellectual thought. It exists as a form of politics, as a plea for social hostility to the Catholic religion, and for revolutionary diplomacy against the

Catholic Church. It is a fact pointed out by Lord Macaulay in his earlier years, when as yet the asperity of the partisan had not soured and warped the candour of the historian, that in every instance Protestantism was established by the civil power; that when the civil power ceased to propagate it, Protestantism ceased to spread; that there is no example of a country becoming Protestant since the first outbreak of the sixteenth century; that there are Protestant countries which have become Catholic again, but no Catholic country which has become Protestant; that whatsoever in the confusions of the last three hundred years has been lost to Catholicism has been lost to Christianity; that whatsoever has been gained to Christianity has been gained to Catholicism.[1]

Now, as a form of religion or of intellectual thought, it is certain that Protestantism has not been able to perpetuate, much less to propagate, itself. In Germany it has passed off into partial or into complete Neology; in Switzerland and France, extensively into Socinianism; in England into a congeries of irreconcilable heterodoxies, which are in a perpetual flux.

Perhaps, in Scotland the original Protestantism retains its character with greater tenacity, partly from the persistent spirit of the Scottish religionists, and partly from its isolation and remoteness from the Catholic nations which by contact powerfully affect other Protestant countries. It is certain, nevertheless, that both speculative unbelief and practical infidelity have made great ravages in Scotland. My object, how-

[1] Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 253.

ever, is not to enter into farther detail than is necessary for the justification of the assertion which I have made, that is, that Protestantism as a religion is dead. It has departed from its own type. It has generated a multitude of new and erroneous religions, and in them it has lost its identity, and therefore as a religion its existence. What number of professing Christians at this day are intellectually represented by the Helvetic Confession, the Augsburg Confession, the Westminster Catechism, and the Thirty-nine Articles? These things are now what the Thalia of Arius, or the creeds of Sirmium, Ancyra, and Seleucia were in the times of S. Gregory the Great.

But I must narrow the ground of our subject, and confine myself to England, alone with which we have chiefly to do.

There are, then, certain signs upon the Established Protestantism of England which mark its advanced decay.

First, its singular isolation. It is out of the unity of the Catholic Church, and therefore of the great Christian society of the world. It is rejected by the Greek Church, with which it endeavours in vain to hold communion. It has no union with the Protestant Churches of Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, or France. It is repudiated by the Established Church of Scotland. It is abandoned or rejected by 58 per cent of the population of England. Of the remaining 42 per cent much continues in it by mere nominal, traditional, social, political adhesion. Anglican Protestantism is not only struck with sterility in propa-

gation, but with an incapacity to retain even its own hereditary members. It is remarkable that this is the state of the Establishment, after an unprecedented stir and exertion, in which it must be said that great natural energy and generosity has been manifested during a quarter of a century. But it is evident to all who stand upon the shore, that nothing can save the Established Protestant or Anglican religion from sinking. Its seams are gaping wide, and the waters of dissension, indifference, and rationalism must inevitably draw it under.

Now this, though it be no new fact, is more advanced and more evident than it was thirty years ago. Until then the Anglican Establishment was girded and underpinned by its exclusive social and political privileges. Three hundred years of regal supremacy and legal primacy and religious monopoly had given to it an apparent and fictitious superiority.

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the Catholic Emancipation threw the Anglican Establishment upon its own centre for support. It could no longer rest upon the legal repression of those who disbelieved or rejected its claims. It had to go alone, to depend upon its own spiritual and intellectual resources. With what result the last thirty years will show. It is true that what is called freedom of action has brought forth much zeal from its members; but it has also brought out their antagonisms; if it has multiplied its churches and its ministers, it has multiplied its contentions and its divisions. For three hundred years its bond of coherence was mechanical and external, not

internal and dynamical. It was not the unity of thought and will, because it had neither unity of faith, nor even the principle of Divine faith for its centre. When the outward bonds which swathed it were taken off, it began to separate every way. All its internal repulsions began to exhibit themselves in a more developed activity, and to reach a farther point of divergence; for instance, the two schools which are now dominant in their activity are the Rationalistic and what I must call the Romanising. They are drawing to themselves the vigour, zeal, generosity, and earnestness of the Establishment, and in their vehement departure from each other they are rending the Establishment asunder. And yet thirty years ago these two schools existed only in germ. They who moved the University of Oxford with such a vehemence of alarm to condemn Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures never dreamed that in that very place in a few years Professor .Powell would deny the whole supernatural order, and explicit Rationalists would be tutors and heads of houses. They, too, who contended for Tract 90, as if for the body of Patroclus, never dreamed that Anglican clergymen would now be not only burning incense, or writing tracts about Low Masses, but would be forming sisterhoods and professing to believe the infallibility of the Church.

These things, which are thought to be signs of life, are rather signs of the acute excitement which precedes dissolution. They are like the mental over-activity of men dying of consumption. They rise fitfully above themselves, and then sink by exhaustion. That

Anglican Protestantism will ever become one in mind, or opinion, or doctrine, is intrinsically impossible. The law of internal divergence which distracts it, is irresistible and multiplying in its force, and its intellectual antagonisms are becoming every ten years more and more intensely developed. That any one form of thought should prevail over all the others and cast them out is equally impossible. That the Romanising school should ever prevail, no Catholic who knows what an act of Divine faith is can for a moment imagine; nor any one who knows how deep and violent is the hostility of the English laity towards these fanciful imitations of the Popery which they hate.

I cannot fail here to notice, in passing, an error which unhappily has found among Catholics a few to countenance it. I mean the notion that the duty of Anglicans is to remain where they are with a view to spreading their opinions in the Established Church: in other words, that individuals may postpone, or even refuse, to submit to the Church in the hope of bringing about what I may call a corporate union of the Churches. Such a theory, to make the best excuse I can for any Catholic who holds it, must rest upon the erroneous assumption that the Anglican Establishment is as truly a Church as the schismatical Greek Church, that it possesses valid orders, succession, sacraments, jurisdiction to absolve, and truth of doctrine, *i.e.* the principle of Divine faith. How any Catholic can hold this view without unsoundness, I do not see. If all the pretensions of the Establishment were as undoubted as the orders and sacraments of the Greek Church, still no

Catholic could maintain such a theory. Every several Greek is bound to submit to the Catholic Church, one by one, without question or thought as to what others may or may not do. Salvation is the first law of conscience, and to hasten out of a state of even material schism or material heresy is an absolute duty. To remain in it *sciens et prudens* would make the heresy or the schism to be formal. If any one wish to see an example of the error I allude to, let him look at a journal called the *Union Review;* a singular example of arrogant and pharisaical patronising of Catholics and the Catholic Church, with much petty and malevolent gossip, picked up it is to be feared in Catholic houses, and from Catholics who lend the countenance of their sympathy and, I fear, of their name to this mischievous delusion. But to return. It has always appeared to me that this intellectual movement towards the Catholic Church was providentially intended to restore the line of continuity between the intelligence of the English people and the intelligence of the universal Church. The Reformation had utterly dissolved it, and the breach was kept open by every means, as by change of language and of terminology, and even change of pronunciation in both Latin and Greek, whereby we have become 'barbarians' to all nations, and all nations 'barbarians unto us.' England was so cut out from the faith, the language, the spiritual and intellectual context and communion of the Catholic world, that it ceased to receive from abroad the influences of other races, or to make itself understood by them. Nothing but this can explain the strange ignorance of the

English respecting the Catholic Church and faith. I do not mean only among the poor—who in a part of England known to me, call their Catholic neighbours Romans, believing them to be the posterity of Julius Cæsar—but among educated and cultivated men. This solution of continuity between the English intelligence and the Catholic intelligence brings with it also a like separation and variance of all the sympathies and instincts which spring from unity of intellectual judgment and belief. Now nothing, humanly speaking, could have restored this continuity except a line of minds advancing like skirmishers towards the Catholic Church, or like a pontoon bridge gradually thrown across the gulf which the Reformation opened. It is also to be noted that almost at the same moment there sprang up in the Presbyterian Establishment a movement on which the name of Irving has been fixed. This movement has developed into a servile imitation of Catholic doctrine and worship, together with the most fanatical enmity against the Catholic Church. These two parallel movements are not permitted without design, nor will they fail to bear their fruits.

One consequence is already seen. The Catholic doctrines and practices, which, twenty years ago, were defended controversially by our preachers and writers, are now for the most part adopted, preached, and defended by a numerous body among our opponents. They are in mutiny, and have fallen into contention among themselves about our Catholic theology. We may save the time which controversy wastes, and, instead of going out into the battle-field, we may go

into the harvest-field to reap and to bind, and to gather our sheaves into the garner.

This, then, is one point in which our times are more critical than those of our fathers.

Another remarkable and unprecedented sign of decay upon Anglican Protestantism is the fact that the young men of cultivation and vigour of mind are turning away from its ministry. It is not enough to say that worldly callings present easier and higher prizes, and that the poverty of the clergy repels young men from ordination. This is not true of the Catholic Church, and that too in our great poverty. The Catholic priests in England certainly do not receive on an average the wages of upper servants. But the sons of our best families, and the highest and best for intellect and cultivation among their sons, give themselves joyously, but humbly and with fear of their own unworthiness, to the priesthood of the Church. It is not poverty which causes this repugnance to Anglican orders. It is the doubt, the uncertainty, and the bondage of an incoherent and untenable position which repels them. On the other hand, it is the living consciousness of the apostolic power and jurisdiction, the certainty and freedom of Divine faith, which draws our youth to the narrow and self-denying path of a priest's life.

The true cause, then, of this ominous desertion of the young men is to be found in their unwillingness to bind themselves by subscription to incoherent and untenable formularies. There have been, indeed, attempts made at other times to abolish subscription to the Articles; but with this difference. In 1688, it was a movement in

order to comprehend nonconformists; in 1774, it was a feeble attempt got up by a few Socinianising clergymen. But now it is far more widely demanded. The Rationalistic school, as a body, and the Romanising school, as a body, desire to be free from the Articles. The laity are forward in asking that their pastors should enjoy the same liberty as themselves. No layman holds himself in any way bound by the Thirty-nine Articles. He rejoices in the liberty of thinking and criticising, believing and disbelieving, as he likes. And he asks the same liberty for his teachers.

In proof of this I will quote an authority which must carry no little weight. Professor Stanley, in a letter to Dr. Tait, says:

'The intelligent, thoughtful, highly-educated young men, who twenty or thirty years ago were to be found in every ordination, are gradually withheld from the service of the Church, and from the profession to which their tastes, their characters, and their gifts best fit them. For this great calamity, the greatest that threatens the permanence and the usefulness of the Church of England, there are, no doubt, many causes at work—some transitory, some beyond the power of any legislative enactment to reach. But there can be no question that one cause is the reluctance, the increasing reluctance of young men of the kind just described to entangle themselves in obligations with which they cannot heartily sympathise, and which may hereafter be brought against them to the ruin of their peace and of their professional usefulness.'[2]

[2] *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London on the State of Subscrip-*

Again he adds: 'I have been told on good authority that of nineteen young men, within the acquaintance of a single individual, who were within the last few years known to have gone to Cambridge with the intention of becoming clergymen, every one has since relinquished his intention, chiefly on the ground of the present state of subscription. Similar statistics to a larger extent, although of a less definite form, might be produced at Oxford.'[3]

This, again, is a new sign of these times, and one which is full of consequences. It has been well said that the opinions of the young men are a prophecy of the future. And certainly a system from which the young men turn away has the sentence of death in itself.

Finally, the rationalism which lay hid in the Anglican Reformation has at last reached its legitimate development. After rejecting the Divine authority of the Church, the tradition of dogma, the Catholic interpretation of Holy Scripture, it is ending by a denial of the inspiration and authenticity of the sacred books. I notice this, not to dwell upon it, but because it is the most signal evidence of the failure of Anglicanism. Its 'Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ' is the sixth Article, which affirms the sufficiency of Scripture, and rests its authenticity and canonicity upon the testimony of the Church. It is precisely here that the last blow has been struck at the Anglican system; and the

*tion in the Church of England and in the University of Oxford.* By Arthur P. Stanley, D.D.

[3] *Ibid.* note, p. 31.

rationalistic infidelity which has robbed Protestant Germany of its belief in Holy Scripture is beginning to gather and to descend from high places upon England. The Sixth Article has been tried and found wanting; and Anglicanism, which has based itself upon the Scriptures, has generated a spirit of unbelief which has undermined the Scriptures on which it professed to rest. Whatsoever may tend to the exposure and extinction of error must be a cause of thankfulness to Catholics; and yet we cannot but view with sorrow and with alarm the gradual decay and dying out of the fragmentary truths of Christianity which survived the Reformation. A belief in the revelation of Christianity and in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures may be said to have been universal in England. But it is this which is now giving way in the educated classes and in the masses of the English people.

I might add many more reasons for the belief that Protestantism in general, and Anglicanism in particular, has reached the term of its pretensions, and that we are at the crisis of its decline, but time forbids.

2. Another reason for regarding these times as critical and of singular importance is the condition of the Catholic Church both in the East and in the West. In the East there is a disposition among the populations separated from it to return to its unity, of which movement Russia may be considered as the centre; in the West a similar movement is in progress, of which England is visibly the centre. The missionaries of the Church are penetrating the East with a vigour and success never known since the missions of S. Francis

Xavier; and the Church in the West is renewing its strength and its action upon the old Catholic countries of Europe with an energy never seen since the Council of Trent. Neither is it without a significance that the other day the tercentenary of that great council was solemnly celebrated in the presence of a prince of the Church, delegated from the Holy See, in the ancient city of Trent. For three hundred years its decrees *de Reformatione* have been working deeply and surely in the universal Church. The civil powers have distracted its operations by their jealous maintenance of old abuses of prerogatives and customs; but revolutions have come as the scourges of God to sweep them clean away. After these reigns of terror the Church has renewed itself in a purity, majesty, and expansion exceeding all its past. Witness the Church in France, the Church in Holland, and now the Church in Ireland and the Church in England. After three hundred years of penal laws, to which the fabulous cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition are merciful, the Church in England is once more free. I shall not touch even in outline the well-known events of the last thirty years—the Emancipation, the Hierarchy, the expansion of the Catholic Church in England. These three words are enough to show that our days are exceptional: that we are witnesses of one of those miracles of grace, of those resurrections of the Church after generations of death, by which God manifests His presence and His sovereignty. But it is a wonderful and almost articulate Providence that the same event which liberated the

Catholic Church to use the freedom of its power should have driven the Anglican Establishment upon the infirmities of its own internal incoherence; that when the State ceased to persecute the Church and to protect the Establishment Protestantism should have begun to dissolve and Catholicism to expand itself; nothing has held the Church under for three hundred years but the whole weight of a penal code; and nothing has held the Establishment up but the favour and force of the civil power.

Divine Providence has seemed to watch its opportunities to exhibit the office and action of the Church by diametrical contrasts. When the Royal Supremacy becomes visibly intolerable in its pretensions, the Supremacy of Rome enters in its calmness and power. When an article of the Apostles' Creed disappears from the religion of the Anglicans, the definition of the Immaculate Conception is promulgated; while the Established religion is visibly losing its social and political influence in England, the revolutions of Europe in fifteen years of sedition, intrigue, and warfare cannot overthrow the temporal power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; when the Protestants of Germany and England by the aid of their pastors are denying the inspiration of Holy Scripture and undermining the authenticity of its books, the Catholic Church, the mother of unwritten traditions, against whom they have been perpetually clamoring, stands sole as the pillar and ground of the Truth, the witness and keeper of Holy Writ. 'Hæc non sine numine.' They are like the chips of

wood which under the childish hands of Hildebrand, *manum pueri ductante numine*, fell into legible forms and prophesied of the future.

It was, then, in such a time as this that the Academia of the Catholic religion was founded in London. Its object, as we know, was to form a centre to which Catholics, both priests and laymen, who desire to serve the Truth and the Church may be drawn: as a means of communication and correspondence: and as a mutual help for the study and solution of questions which affect the Catholic religion, that is both the Faith and the Church, and that both in speculation and in practice. And, first, we have to be thankful for its existence and for its continuance, and for the discourses which have been addressed to us, especially for some of them. Nevertheless, we have not as yet recognised as much as we may the direct and practical uses for which it may be employed. And with a view to this I would endeavour to suggest the subjects which appear to be proper to this Academia.

They may, I think, be stated as follows:

1. First, all such arguments as exhibit the relation of reason to Revelation, of reason to the Church, of the Church to the Scriptures, of reason to the Scriptures. These subjects are especially forced upon us by the intellectual condition of England, by the dissolution of Protestantism, and by the influence of these two causes upon many among our own people. It is much to be desired that certain men would subdivide these subjects among themselves, and engage to produce papers upon each of them, to be read before the Academia.

From such, a volume most useful and needful at this moment might easily be formed. We must all desire that the Catholic Church should be seen by all men to stand foremost in the defence of the Word of God, unwritten and written, in these days of unbelief.

2. Next, the relation of the Church to politics requires a new and careful restatement. The great Catholic writers, such as S. Thomas, Suarez, and Bellarmine, treated of these subjects in the abstract, and in their bearing upon the forms of political society known in their day. But the last centuries have changed the whole aspect and application of their principles. The political society of the last three hundred years is a new phase of Christian civilisation. The inevitable divorce of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, which is everywhere accomplishing, and the separation of the nations, as such, from the unity of the faith, which brings with it the desecration of the corporate life and action of society—that is, of the civil power—is a new and unprecedented fact of a portentous character, charged with a future which we can only contemplate with submission to the will of God and confidence in His care of His Church and people. A multitude of subjects are at once forced upon us. What is the relation of the Church to the civil society of the world? Has it any duty towards it, or direction over it? Do politics enter into morals, and has the Church any jurisdiction within the sphere of politics? Can politics be separated from the faith, and Christian society from the Church? Is civilisation dependent on or independent of Christianity, and therefore of the Church? Was the concurrent

action of the spiritual and civil powers in past ages for good or for evil? Is their present divorce an advance or a retrogression in Christian civilisation?

I need not point out that these questions are inevitable; they are forced upon us; they underlie the whole continental revolution against the Holy See; they are mixed up in the foreign policy of every government; they are ventilated in every newspaper; Catholics cannot meet in a congress without being overtaken by them as by a spring-tide; they enter into the duties of every Englishman who possesses the trust of a vote or the responsibility of influence; they are the fine wedges which are rending us asunder, and throwing many, who are otherwise sound in faith, upon a stream which will carry them not only away from the spirit of the Church, but, at last, into opposition to the Holy See. Do not think I exaggerate, or speak as a theorist. Every parish priest will know that the subtilest form of political sedition is at this moment being propagated among our Catholics in England by brotherhoods, secret societies, and obscure newspapers. For all this we must prepare ourselves. If we need a last reason to attract us to these studies, we may find it in the allocution of the Holy Father at the canonisation in 1862, in which all the faithful of every nation and people were warned to beware of the anti-social and anti-Christian principles of modern political theories.

3. Once more, the relation of philosophy to faith lies at the foundation of the chief intellectual problems of the day. Without a clear decision on this subject there can be no sufficient treatment of the first truths

of theology. The most lamentable aberrations of these later years may in some cases be traced to a single philosophical error, which, like a morbid particle in the blood, will produce death.

A certain class of modern metaphysical philosophers has been well subdivided into objective and subjective atheists, and yet these writers are read both without and within the Church in England without scruple or hesitation. Happily many men are not consequent, and many have no conception of the character and reach of the books they read. Inconsequence and unconsciousness preserve them from the evil of the anti-Catholic and anti-Christian philosophy by which they are surrounded.

A still more urgent subject is the relation of Faith and the Church to Science. It would seem to be too trivial to go on repeating, that between revelation and science there can be no opposition; that the works of God are His words, and the words of God are His works, and that both are in absolute harmony. In the Divine mind they are one truth: in the Divine action they may be only partially and successively developed. They may for a time seem to be diverse, and to involve discrepancies of signification; but ultimately and essentially they must be one, even as God is one. 'Deus scientiarum Tu es.' God is the fountain of all sciences. For this cause Catholics have no fear of science, scientifically elaborated and scientifically treated. They have no fear of any accumulation of facts and phenomena, truly such, nor of any induction or conclusion scientifically established. They fear only science un-

scientifically handled, superficial observations, hasty generalisations, reckless opposition to revelation, and undissembled readiness to reject revelation rather than doubt of a modern theory about flint instruments and hyena's bones. It is, indeed, true that Catholics have an intense dislike and hostility to such science as this, and to all its modifications. They hold it to be guilty, not only of *lèse majesté* against the Christian revelation, but against the truth and dignity of science itself. They abhor—and I accuse myself of being a ringleader in this abhorrence—the science now in fashion, which I take leave to call 'the brutal philosophy,' to wit, there is no God, and the ape is our Adam.

How necessary it is for Catholics to prepare themselves on the relation of society and of science to the Church, may be seen by what passed the other day: as at Malines, so at Munich. Catholics cannot meet without being forced into the time-spirit. We do not live in an exhausted receiver. The Middle Ages are passed. There is no zone of calms for us. We are in the modern world—in the trade winds of the nineteenth century, and we must brace ourselves to lay hold of the world as it grapples with us, and to meet it intellect to intellect, culture to culture, science to science.

For in these last centuries, first politics and now science have fallen away from the faith. This is the paradisiacal state according to some. To others it is the dissolution of the Christian society of the world carried out to its last consequence. Now it will be a subject very proper to the sessions of the Academia to discuss whether Science has any dependence upon

Faith, or whether it be independent in a province of its own; whether it be scientific to threaten the received chronology with a jaw-bone found at Amiens, or with cities submerged in lakes, or with formations arbitrarily assumed to be slow in their accretion and the like; or whether it be not the part of Science to proceed with the docility of a learner, and the patience of an interrogator, waiting for the answers of Nature, who will not be rudely or contemptuously questioned, but demands of its disciples the reverence and the piety of sons to its great Creator.

Lastly—for I must not trespass longer upon your patience—under the name of Science is included not only Metaphysics and Physics, but also the scientific treatment of Theology, Philosophy, and History in its relation to theological science. In this sense it goes to the root of faith. I cannot better illustrate my meaning than by quoting the words of a Swiss theologian, Gügler, whose works I do not pretend to know beyond the passage which I have met in quotation. Either that passage does adequately represent the mind of the writer, or it does not. With this I have less to do than with its inevitable effect on the mind of the reader. 'We are to believe,' says the author to his antagonists, 'the voice of the Church, you say, without seeking to understand; but where do we hear this voice? Not in your mouths, certainly, or with the ears of the body; it must be sought for in history, and in the written records of the Church. We must examine each document historically in order to know whether it is the authentic expression of the mind of the Church without

interpolation; only then does faith begin.' 'Embrace reason and science, become what you ought to be; and your kingdom will rise again from the dead.'[4]

First, I would wish to know who *we* are who are bound to examine each document historically? and next, what documents? and lastly, for the establishment of what doctrines? Does it signify that the faithful are to receive the articles of their Baptismal Creed from documents historically examined by each one for himself, and not from the voice of the Church? Or the interpretation of those articles, or the interpretation of Scripture? And is it only after examination of each document historically that faith begins? Have they no faith before baptism, nor after baptism, till they become historical critics?

If by these high-sounding phrases be meant only that we must know *what* we believe, and *why* we believe, before we believe it, or that reason is the preamble of faith, there is no need of such imposing phraseology, nor of any discovery. We may answer with S. Augustin, 'Absit ut ideo credamus ne rationem accipiamus, sive quæramus, quum etiam credere non possemus nisi rationabiles animas haberemus.'[5] But if it be meant that science precedes faith, and that the unscientific have no faith, I would leave the writer to reconcile himself with the Prophet who says, 'Nisi credideritis non intelligetis,' and with S. Augustin, who with the principle transfixes the pretensions of the Manichees. We are

[4] *Home and Foreign Review*, July 1863, p. 194.
[5] S. Aug. Epist. cxx. 3, tom. ii. p. 347.

no lovers of darkness, nor of the kingdom of the dead, and we have, I hope, as ardent a love of science and reason as any men of our time; but we have learned in the school of those doctors and saints who teach that faith is a rational act, and that to believe is the condition of understanding, and understanding the reward of faith. 'Si a me,' says S. Augustin, 'aut a quolibet alio doctore non irrationabiliter flagitas, ut quod credis intelligas, corrige definitionem tuam, non ut fidem respuas, sed ut ea, quæ fidei firmitate jam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias. . . . Et ideo rationabiliter dictum est per Prophetam, "nisi credideritis non intelligetis."'

Again he says: 'Sed prius Sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritatibus colla subdenda sunt, ut ad intellectum per fidem quisque perveniat.'[6]

And once more, for the principle pervades the works of S. Augustin from beginning to end:

'*Sed sunt quidam*, inquit, *in vobis qui non credunt.* Non dicit, sunt quidam in vobis qui non intelligunt: sed causam dixit, quare non intelligant. *Sunt enim quidam in vobis qui non credunt:* et ideo non intelligunt, quia non credunt. Propheta enim dixit, *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.* Per fidem copulamur, per intellectum vivificamur. Prius hæreamus per fidem, ut sit quod vivificetur per intellectum. Nam qui non hæret, resistit: qui resistit, non credit. Nam qui resistit, quomodo vivificatur? Adversarius est radio lucis, quo penetrandus est: non avertit aciem, sed

[6] *De Peccatorum Meritis*, cap. xxi. 16 D. tom. x. p. 16.

claudit mentem. *Sunt* ergo *quidam qui non credunt.* Credant et aperiant, aperiant et illuminabuntur.'[7]

In a word, it is not science which generates faith, but faith which generates science by the aid of the reason illuminated by revelation.

In what I have hitherto said, I have assumed one truth as undeniable and axiomatic, namely, that God has revealed Himself; that He hath committed this revelation to His Church; and that He preserves both His revelation and His Church in all ages by His own presence and assistance from all error in faith and morals. Now inasmuch as certain primary truths—which may be naturally known of God and the soul, and of the relations of the soul with God, and of man with man, that is, certain truths discoverable also in the order of nature by reason or by philosophy—are taken up into and incorporated with the revelation of God, the Church possesses the first principles of rational philosophy and of natural ethics both for individuals and for society. And inasmuch as these principles are the great regulating truths of philosophy and natural morality, including natural politics, the Church has a voice, a testimony, and a jurisdiction within these provinces of natural knowledge. I do not affirm the Church to be a philosophical authority, but I may affirm it to be a witness in philosophy. Much more when we come to treat of Christian philosophy or the Theodicea, or Christian morals and Christian politics; for these are no more than the truths of nature grafted upon the stock of revelation and elevated to a super-

[7] *In Joan. Evang.* cap. vi. tract. xxvii. tom. iii. p. 504.

natural perfection. To exclude the discernment and voice of the Church from philosophy and politics is to degrade both by reducing them to the natural order. First it pollards them, and next it deprives them of the corroboration of a higher evidence. Against this the whole array of Catholic theologians and philosophers has always contended. They have maintained that the tradition of theological and ethical knowledge is divinely preserved, and has a unity in itself; that there is a true traditive philosophy running down in the same channel with the divine tradition of faith, recognised by faith as true by the light of nature, and guarded by the circle of supernatural truths by which faith has surrounded it. In saying this I am not extending the infallibility of the Church to philosophical or political questions apart from their contact with revelation; but affirming only that the radical truths of the natural order have become rooted in the substance of faith, and are guaranteed to us by the witness and custody of the Church. So likewise, as the laws of Christian civilisation are the laws of natural morality elevated by the Christian law, which is expounded and applied by the Church, there is a tradition both of private and public ethics, or in other words of morality and jurisprudence, which forms the basis of all personal duty and of all political justice. In this again the Church has a discernment, and therefore a voice. A distribution of labour in the cultivation of all provinces of truth is prudent and intelligible: a division of authority and an exclusion of the Church from science is not only a dismemberment of the kingdom of truth, but

a forcible rending of vital truths from their highest evidence. Witness the treatment of the question whether the existence of God can be proved, and whether God can be known by natural reason, in the hands of those who turn their backs upon the tradition of evidence in the universal Church. Unless revelation be an illusion, the voice of the Church must be heard in these higher provinces of human knowledge. Newton, as Dr. Newman says, 'cannot dispense with the metaphysician, nor the metaphysician with us.' Into cosmogony the Church must enter by the doctrine of creation; into natural theology by the doctrine of the existence and perfections of God; into ethics by the doctrine of the cardinal virtues; into politics by the indissolubility of marriage, the root of human society, as divorce is its dissolution. And by this interpenetration and interweaving of its teaching, the Church binds all sciences to itself. They meet in it as in their proper centre. As the sovereign power which runs into all provinces unites them in one Empire, so the voice and witness of the Church unite, and bind all sciences in one.

It is the parcelling and morselling out of science, and the disintegration of the tradition of truth, which has reduced the intellectual culture of England to its present fragmentary and contentious state. Not only errors are generated, but truths are set in opposition; science and revelation are supposed to be at variance, and revelation to be the weaker side of human knowledge.

The Church has an infallible knowledge of the original revelation. Its definitions of Divine faith fall

within this limit. But its infallible judgments reach beyond it. The Church possesses a knowledge of truth which belongs also to the natural order. The existence of God—His power, goodness, and perfections—the moral law written in the conscience—are truths of the natural order which are declared also by revelation, and recorded in Holy Scripture. These truths the Church knows by a twofold light—by the supernatural light of revelation, and by the natural light which all men possess. In the Church this natural light is concentrated as in a focus. The great endowment of common sense—that is, the *generis humani communis sensus*—the maximum of light and evidence for certain truths of the natural order, resides eminently in the collective intelligence of the Church, that is to say, in the intelligence of the faithful, which is the seat of its passive infallibility, and in the intelligence of the pastors, or the *Magisterium Ecclesiæ*, which is the organ of its active infallibility. That two and two make four is not more evident to the Catholic Church than to the rest of mankind, to S. Thomas or S. Bonaventura than to Spinoza and Comte. But that God exists, and that man is responsible, because free, are moral truths, and for the perception of moral truths even of the natural order a moral discernment is needed; and the moral discernment of the Church, even of natural truths, is, I maintain, incomparably higher than the moral discernment of the mass of mankind, by virtue of its elevation to greater purity and closer conformity to the laws of nature.

The highest object of human science is God; and

theology, properly so called, is the science of His nature and perfections, the radiance which surrounds 'the Father of light, in whom is no change, neither shadow of vicissitude.' Springing from this central science flow the sciences of the works of God, in nature and in grace; and under the former fall not only the physical sciences, but those also which relate to man and to his action—as morals, politics, and history. Now the revelation God has given us rests for its centre upon God Himself, but in its course describes a circumference within which many truths of the natural order relating both to the world and to man are included. These the Church knows not only by natural light, but by Divine revelation, and declares by Divine assistance. But these primary truths of the natural order are axioms and principles of the sciences within which they properly fall. And these truths of philosophy belong also to the domain of faith. The same truths are the objects of faith and of science; they are the links which couple these sciences to revelation. How, then, can these sciences be separated from their relation to revealed truth without a false procedure? No Catholic could so separate them; for these truths enter within the dogma of faith. No Christian who believes in Holy Scripture could do so; for they are included in Holy Writ. No mere philosopher could do so; for thereby he would discard and perhaps place himself in opposition and discord with the maximum of evidence which is attainable on these primary verities, and therefore with the common sense not only of Christendom, but of mankind. In this I am not advocating a mixture or

confusion of religion and philosophy, which, as Lord Bacon says, in his work *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, 'will undoubtedly make an heretical religion and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy,' but affirming that certain primary truths of both physical and ethical philosophy are delivered to us by revelation, and that we cannot neglect them as our starting-points in such sciences without a false procedure and a palpable forfeiture of truth. Such verities are, for instance, the existence of God, the creation of the world, the freedom of the will, the moral office of the conscience, and the like. Lord Bacon says, again: 'There may be veins and lines, but not sections or separations,' in the great continent of Truth. All truths alike are susceptible of scientific method, and all of a religious treatment. The father of modern philosophy, as men of our day call him, so severe and imperious in maintaining the distinct province and process of science, is not the less peremptory and absolute as to the unity of all truth and the vital relation of all true science to the Divine philosophy of revelation.

In confirmation of what I have said, I will use better words than my own. In the second of the well-known Lectures on University Education,[8] Dr. Newman, treating of the relation of theology to other sciences, speaks as follows: 'Summing up, gentlemen, what I have said, I lay it down that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit

[8] *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education*, J. H. Newman, Disc. II.

together that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction; and then, again, as to its Creator, though He, of course, in His own Being, is infinitely separated from it, yet He has so implicated Himself with it, and taken it into His very bosom, by His presence in it, His providence over it, His impressions upon it, and His influences through it, that we cannot truly or fully contemplate it without contemplating Him. Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction which I have spoken of, being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. As they all belong to one and the same circle of objects, they are one and all connected together; as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea and for their own respective purposes; on both accounts they at once need and subserve each other. And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation, and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one with another—this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from all of them, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my own conception of what is meant by philosophy, in the true sense of the word.'

Further on he says: 'What theology gives, it has a right to take; or rather the interests of truth oblige it to take. If we would not be beguiled by dreams, if we would ascertain facts as they are, then, granting theology as a real science, we cannot exclude it, and

still call ourselves philosophers. I have asserted nothing as yet as to the pre-eminent dignity of religious truth; I only say, if there be religious truth at all, we cannot shut our eyes to it without prejudice to truth of every kind, physical, metaphysical, historical, and moral: for it bears upon all truth. And thus I answer the objection with which I opened this discourse. I supposed the question put to me by a philosopher of the day, "Why cannot you go your way, and let us go ours?" I answer, in the name of theology, "When Newton can dispense with the metaphysician, then may you dispense with us." . . .

'Man, with his motives and works, his languages, his propagation, his diffusion, is from Him [God]. Agriculture, medicine, and the arts of life are His gift. Society, laws, government—He is their sanction. The pageant of earthly royalty has the semblance and the benediction of the Eternal King. Peace and civilisation, commerce and adventure, wars when just, conquest when humane and necessary, have His co-operation and His blessing upon them. The course of events, the revolution of empires, the rise and fall of states, the periods and eras, the progresses and the retrogressions of the world's history, not indeed the incidental sin, over-abundant as it is, but the great outlines and the issues of human affairs, are from His disposition. The elements, and types, and seminal principles, and constructive powers of the moral world, in ruins though it be, are to be referred to Him. He "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." . . .

'If this be a sketch, accurate in substance, and, as

far as it goes, of the doctrines proper to theology, and especially of the doctrine of a particular Providence, which is the portion of it most on a level with human sciences, I cannot understand at all how, supposing it to be true, it can fail, considered as knowledge, to exert a powerful influence on philosophy, literature, and every intellectual creation or discovery whatever. I cannot understand how it is possible, as the phrase goes, to blink the question of its truth or falsehood. It meets us with a profession and a proffer of the highest truths of which the human mind is capable; it embraces a range of subjects the most diversified and distant from each other. What science will not find one part or other of its province traversed by its path? What results of philosophic speculation are unquestionable, if they have been gained without inquiry as to what theology had to say to them? Does it cast no light upon history? Has it no influence upon the principles of ethics? Is it without any sort of bearing on physics, metaphysics, and political science? Can we drop it out of the circle of knowledge, without allowing either that that circle is thereby mutilated, or, on the other hand, that theology is no science?'

Such being the essential unity of all truth, and such the mind and instinct of the Church, it is no wonder that humble and pious minds not largely cultivated beyond their Catechism should turn with fear and suspicion from the pursuit of science. It is deplorable, but not wonderful, that they should be thereby set against the progress of scientific knowledge. But on whom rests the blame? Without question, on us, who

profess to know better, if we so use our better knowledge as to offend and to affright our weaker brethren. Life is short, and at longest there is little time for the pursuit of knowledge. Better to use it for science silently and humbly. There is as little fear of our modern philosophers being burnt for magic, or even accused of it by their ignorant contemporaries, as of our attaining the intellectual superiority of Sylvester II. or Nicolas of Cusa. Nothing is gained to science, still less to charity, by a tone of pretentious menace; such as, 'If the facts of geology are contrary to the Catholic faith, let the Catholic faith look to it.' We need no such admonitions, be they threats or warnings. It would inspire us with more confidence in their science and humility, if our geologists said: 'If the facts of geology are contrary to the Catholic faith, let geology look to its facts.' It is much easier to trumpet about facts than to fix them. Even in our own short lifetime we have seen the facts of geology to be made, unmade, remade, and made over again, I know not how many times. The nature and origin of man has been so often fixed and unfixed that I am in doubt whether I am descended, as I said, from Adam or from an ape, or from a jelly, or from a capsule, or whether I am created at all, or am a transient manifestation of an uncreated whole, that is, whether I am man or Pan, whom I revered in boyhood, but never aspired to be. And this is science. Truly the Catholic faith has not much need to fear it, save only for the half-learned, vain-glorious, pretentious, and unbelieving. But they are many.

To illustrate my meaning from a high authority not

to be suspected of partiality to us, I will quote the words of Mr. Lewes, the hierophant or archimandrite of Comtism, or as I have ventured to call it in respect to theology, the Brutal Philosophy. After a review in four volumes of the triumph and progress of philosophy along the *via sacra* of ages from the seven friends of our boyhood, Thales, Pythagoras, Solon, &c., through Anaximenes, Anaximander, to Spinoza, Locke, Reid, Kant, Hegel, Fichte, to Auguste Comte, he sums up the pæan in this melancholy strophe which closes his last volume: 'Modern philosophy opens with a method —Bacon; and ends with a method—Comte; and in each case this method leads to positive science, and sets metaphysics aside. Within these limits we have witnessed various efforts to solve the problems of philosophy; and all these efforts have ended in scepticism.'[9]

It sounds like the voice of the buffoon in the chariot reminding Cæsar that he is but a man.

The mission, then, of the Catholic Church in England at this moment is a noble and beneficent work, that of calling home, first, truths to their proper centre, and then men to those truths.

It has first to reorganise the elements of Christian belief which lie scattered in fragments around its unity. And this it is already doing beyond all hope: even error is working with it, revealing its own incoherence. It is certain that as the Catholic Church stands at this hour in England the only witness for unity of faith, so in ten years it will be recognised as the only Divine

[9] Vol. iv. p. 263.

evidence, and therefore the only certain authority, for the inspiration and canon of Holy Scripture.

It is the duty, therefore, of Catholics to prepare themselves for the future which is before them. They little thought thirty years ago to be as they are now.

They little thought ten years ago of the majestic expansion of the Catholic Church at this hour, and of its dignified attitude of calm in the midst of the religious confusion and dissolution which is around it. Still less can we anticipate what the next ten years may bring. The advance of the Church is in geometrical progression.

And in proportion as it regains the intelligence of the English people, the hearts of men will turn to it *sicut torrens in austro*. It will be seen to be in England also what it ever has been in the civilised world—the mother and nurse of all intellectual culture. The people of England are already beginning to hear its voice and to recognise it as the pleading of truth, charity, and common sense.

# IV.

# FATHER FABER.

# FATHER FABER.

(*Dublin Review*, January 1864.)

In this brief notice we do not pretend to write a biography of Father Faber, or to review his works. But we feel that when any one who for fifteen years has filled so large a place in the thoughts and affections of Catholics is called away to his rest, it is a grateful duty to record his name in our pages.

F. Faber died as a pastor ought to die, amidst the tears and prayers of a multitude of souls brought by him to the foot of the Cross; and, we must add, amidst the petty malevolence of those who hate the Church. No one can have been present on the day of his requiem without a desire to die as he did. And no one can have read the comments of the *Saturday Review* on that spectacle without a new conception of the littleness and implacableness of a certain class of minds. Until the rise of the spirit of petty personal detraction which stains our anonymous literature, we should have thought it impossible, not that any Christian, but that any man, could be found to write in cold blood, over a grave hardly closed, those words of ungenerous detraction and effeminate spite. They who in that article are held up by the writer as 'a desert

of unfulfilled promise, blighted powers, and wasted life,' may well thank God that they have been saved from a greater desolation—that of sharing the heart and mind of the reviewer. Better to be all he describes than a Pharisee without a faith, and a man without a heart.

We confess that when we first read the article, the ill-natured gossip and unmanly raking up of early failings, supposing them to be true—or the reckless wickedness of publishing such detraction, supposing them to be false—excited in us no little indignation,—until we remembered that so it must be. If such a mind could appreciate F. Faber, F. Faber would not be what he was. We remembered that some writer of French gossip describes S. Vincent of Paul, the father of the Lazarist missionaries, of the Sisters of Charity, and of modern beneficence, as a man fond of cards, and not over-scrupulous in his play. This somewhat allayed our feelings; but one more thought turned it into thankfulness. A *Saturday* Reviewer in France has lately written a life of our Divine Lord, describing Him as the 'handsome enthusiast, the fascinating preacher, and the favourite of effeminate minds.' A Renan in England has described F. Faber almost in the same words. 'The disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord.' We know no greater honour than to be calumniated together with our Divine Redeemer. The animosity and injustice of the writer, happily without a name, are signally betrayed in the selection from F. Faber's poetry of two sets of verses, certainly of no high excellence. But will the critic, as a man of honour, pretend that those poems are a

sample of F. Faber's poetical writings? In the very volume from which they are taken there are sonnets which would bear comparison with the poems of those who are accepted as the highest poets of our day. But it would not serve the purpose of detraction to quote them. It was more to the mind of the critic to pick out the few things which may be censured among the many things which are to be commended. The poems are criticised also for a tone of servility to friends. Has the critic ever read Shakespeare's Sonnets? But an Anglican of great gifts, who has committed the unpardonable sin of submitting to the Catholic Church, thereby disturbing and shaming many, who had the same lights and responsibilities, but not the same fidelity or force of character, must be run down, derided, and damaged, lest men should believe in him.

Our first recollection of F. Faber is of a graceful and intelligent boy just launched into a great public school; and next, as a young man who had lately won for himself a high place in honours at Oxford. No one could have known him in those days without being attracted by a grace of person and mind rarely to be met with. But with his early career we have little to do. He is known to us in a character which effaces all antecedents. The only Frederick Faber we can now present to ourselves is the priest, the preacher, the guide of souls, the spiritual writer, and the head of a great community; and in these offices he has in fifteen years fulfilled the works of a long life.

As a priest we may say that few men of our day have given a higher example of the ecclesiastical and

sacerdotal spirit, of entire devotion to the priestly life; detached from the world, in which he never set a foot, and immersed in everything which is most in harmony with the priesthood. The accuser of the *Saturday Review* industriously collects against him the charges of tuft-hunting and the like. If so, then the change which his faith and piety had made in him was all the more meritorious and supernatural; for undoubtedly, of all our contemporaries few can be found who more entirely and consistently withdrew from the world. 'He lived with himself,' as S. Gregory says of S. Benedict,—*habitabat secum*. He was so buried in the four walls of the Oratory that he never even visited his friends. They sought him, not he them; and those who did not come to him, be they who they might, he never saw.

As a preacher he possessed certain gifts beyond any one we remember to have heard. He had a facility and flexibility of mind and voice, a vividness of apprehension and of imagination, a beauty of conception and of expression,—a beauty, that is, to the eye and to the ear,—with a brightness of confidence, as of a man who lived in the light and the peace of God, and a longing desire to make others possess the happiness he enjoyed, which we have hardly seen united in the same degree. We have heard others who have spoken with more power, more mastery of intellect, more reserve of force, more commanding strength of word and of will, but we have seldom, if ever, heard any preacher who so seemed to speak from a personal consciousness of the beauty and sweetness of a life of union with Jesus, with

His Saints, and with His Church. F. Faber's preaching was not a discourse elaborately worked out and delivered with a sensible or conscious effort, but the overflow of a mind perpetually fed from its own inward sources, and pouring forth with an exuberance of which we have known no example. With most men to preach seems to be an effort; with him it seemed to be a relief, as if his mind were so overburdened by the consciousness of the things of God and of the soul, that to pour them out in a continuous stream was as great a refreshment to himself as to the multitude who hung upon his lips.

As a guide of souls it would hardly be in place for us here to speak of him; but there was about F. Faber one quality which we must not omit to note. He had a thorough mistrust and dislike of all low views and compromises in serving God. He aspired, both for himself and for others, to the highest—not out of any rigour or moroseness, nor out of any vainglorious affectation of sanctity, but from a deep and consistent desire after the nearest union with God. No one was more large in permitting all that was innocent or lawful; none more high-minded in encouraging, inviting, urging men up the narrow path. He had a kindly but most caustic raillery for the vanities and singularities of silly pietism, which reminds us of S. Philip's counsels about ruffs and high heels. Certainly no one could hear him speak of the love and service of God without being attracted to it. It has been well said that to make men love their country the rulers must make it lovely; and it may be said of

religion, that to make men love it, spiritual guides must make it lovely; and this F. Faber did in a singular degree.

Of F. Faber as a spiritual writer it would be impossible here to speak. It would require a large analysis and appreciation of his many and various works, which we may hereafter attempt. All we can do is to point out one feature by which F. Faber's writings are eminently distinguished. His first work of Catholic piety was entitled *All for Jesus*, and this may be said to be the key-note of all that followed. They are all one strain, and all as harmonies elaborated out of this octave; the first few simple notes giving forth a flood of sound, rich, intricate, and sweet. Year after year, with a wonderful rapidity, his works came forth. In such an abundance of matter it might be easy to criticise; but it would be hard to find any mind or hand which has bestowed so large a gift on the Catholics of England—and not only of England, but wheresoever the English tongue is spoken—and not only in our tongue, but in German, in French, and in other languages. In France many of his books are now in the fourth, sixth, and tenth editions. The Catholics of other countries have recognised in F. Faber the quality and the flavour of mystical and ascetical piety familiar to them in the tradition of the Church. To them it was a gift, but not the supply of a need, as it was to us. The Church in England has hitherto been as poor in writers as in endowments. The Catholics of other countries had already their doctrinal works: we had hardly any; and it must be said that, excellent as are

those we possessed, there was still a want to be supplied. Gother, Challoner, and Hay, with all their deep and solid instruction, do not fulfil the mission of S. Francis of Sales, or Lallemant, or Segneri. There was still a strain of the spiritual life to be uttered. To this F. Faber applied himself; first by the translation of the series of the *Lives of the Saints*, and next by his own writings. The former work was, as it were, a novitiate for the latter. Now it is well known how great an opposition was made by good and excellent men to the series of Lives. The chief opponent afterwards, with a true Christian's humility, withdrew his censures. But this fact is enough to show that there was a need to be supplied. The Lives in question are chiefly those which were prepared for the processes of canonisation, or at least derived from the evidence taken in those processes. We feel sure that both for the series of the Saints' Lives, and for his own writings, we are greatly his debtors. We know of no one man who has done more to make the men of his day love God and aspire to a higher path of the interior life; and we know no man who so nearly represents to us the mind and the preaching of S. Bernard and of S. Bernardine of Sienna, in the tenderness and beauty with which he has surrounded the names of Jesus and Mary.

And here we cannot omit to mention his devotional hymns, among which are to be found some of the purest simplest strains of high and elevating devotion. They have been a consolation to multitudes, and are daily in the mouths of thousands of our children; and

they have entered deeply into the training of many hearts in the love of God, of piety, and of the Church.

It only remains to us to say the fewest words of F. Faber as the head of the London Oratory. No one can have followed the career of the Oratorians, from their entrance upon the miserable room which served for a church in King William-street, Strand, to the day when F. Faber's bier, in their spacious church at Brompton, was surrounded by more than a hundred priests, representing the reverence and affection of the diocese, and a great multitude of mourners, representing the love of his spiritual children, without recognising both the vastness of the work which has been done, and the pre-eminence of the one mind which animated and guided it. This is neither the time nor the place to enter into the reasons which make this work so significantly great. F. Faber has had the happy lot to be called to labour for the Catholic Church in England and in London at a moment pregnant with critical events; and nobly he has done so,—as 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed;' as a voice that never faltered; as a man that was always found upon the right side—always for the higher truth and for the better choice. It is the property of greater minds to assimilate others to themselves; and this F. Faber did with a remarkable power. His spirit pervaded the community over which he presided, and he lived to see it multiplied to some two-and-twenty priests, and expanding itself with a singular fruitfulness of spiritual works. It is hardly credible that among us there

should be found a man—and he must be also an Oxford man, we fear, and perhaps once a friend—who could describe such a man and such a life as one 'who would have made his fortune as a pocket-handkerchief preacher in a fashionable chapel,' and whose proper sphere was amongst choristers and effeminate minds. Perhaps it was necessary that while the aspersory sprinkled upon his bier the tokens of divine absolution, the frivolous and the malicious should sprinkle it with vinegar and gall. Such is the destiny and the dignity of the servants of God; and this thought gives us an additional feeling of joy in laying upon his grave our too slight testimony of reverence and love.

# V.

# THE VISIT OF GARIBALDI TO ENGLAND.

# THE VISIT OF GARIBALDI TO ENGLAND.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., &c. &c.

Sir,—I alone am responsible for the contents of this Letter, and for the fact of its being addressed to you. I have not asked your permission, because I do not think that I am bound to do so. I write to you as one of her Majesty's Privy Councillors who have not waited upon General Garibaldi. My first impulse was to pour out the feeling which has been aroused in me by recent events to one of your colleagues, but to my sorrow I saw that he was conspicuous in his attendance on General Garibaldi. Disappointed in this, I turn to you. I have ever believed you and found you to be just and even in your judgments and actions towards those who differ from you, and though large and generous in your popular sympathies, yet wise and firm. You have held a high office in Ireland, which will enable you to estimate the full breadth and critical delicacy of the subject on which I address you. You can be in no way responsible for anything I may write. I do not know how far you may or may not agree in what I say. I know that in some things of the gravest

moment we must differ; but in many things the love of our country and the instincts of Englishmen must, I hope, draw our judgments together. I have waited in the hope that some one better able than I am should break silence: as no one has done so, I will.

As an Englishman, then, I will say at once I have looked on with no little sorrow and indignation at much which has attended the reception of General Garibaldi. What my political opinions may be can be of no manner of importance. It does not matter what such as I may be. But it may matter not a little to fair play that I should say what I am not. It is an easy thing to raise a prejudice against what I may say by describing me as a partisan of reaction, of brigandage, of absolutism, and the like. For this reason, and for this reason only, I will say that I am no lover of absolutism nor of despotism. If I have any politics they are popular, learned in the school which teaches that princes are for the people, not the people for princes. This principle I accept from my heart with all its consequences and corollaries. A desire for the welfare of the people in the largest sense, which eliminates the party politics of classes and of sectional interests, and above all, the dictates of a higher order of truths, would incline me to view with sympathy whatsoever is for the welfare of the people.

But believing that civil society is a Divine creation, and that its authority is from God, I have no sympathy with revolutions which are licentious, unjust, or without a moral necessity, still less with those which are associated with public and private immorality.

Thus much I have thought it well to say at the outset, lest what I add should be thought to flow from political bigotry or religious prejudice.

I will, then, in as few words as I can, state the purport of this Letter.

From the public newspapers I learn that the reception of General Garibaldi has been attended by such multitudes as have never welcomed even royal personages on their arrival in England. We are told that the arrival of the Princess of Wales elicited no such demonstrations. Ministers of the Crown, peers of the realm, Anglican prelates, members of parliament, magistrates of high dignity, ex-Chancellors, Privy Councillors, merchants, gentlemen of all conditions, and, very conspicuously, peeresses and ladies of every class, made court for General Garibaldi. The Prime Minister, her Majesty's Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and others in high place, we are told, threw open their houses to honour General Garibaldi. His movements were chronicled as by a Court newsman. At certain houses the red cloth was spread to honour his entry; the Mayor of Southampton, having fallen into a strain of poetry or of prophecy, named him the 'uncrowned king;' London rose up to meet him; the City presented its freedom with a box enriched with diamonds. That some whom I have named received him with singular demonstrations affords me no surprise: the presence of others I can account for by nothing but a momentary aberration of their habital prudence—shall I add, of their habitual dignity? That you, sir, were not of the

number I could have foretold, and I have not been disappointed.

The day will I hope come, and before long, when, the fumes of this intoxication having evaporated, we shall be able to appreciate what has been done. Already the evidence of such a return to sobriety is to be perceived, and the time is not far off when people will be able to review what they have been doing in the light of certain facts, which I would ask leave briefly to enumerate.

1. First, then, I pass over what has already in these last days occupied the public attention, and drawn from the *Times* newspaper a graceful *amende* to a distinguished personage.[1]

2. In the *Evening Standard* of April 20 I read a report of the following words, spoken by General Garibaldi at the house of a Mr. Herzen at Teddington:

'I am about to make a declaration which I ought to have made long ago. There is a man amongst us here who has rendered the greatest services to our country, and to the cause of liberty. When I was a young man, having naught but aspirations towards the good, I sought for one able to act as the guide and counsellor of my young years. I sought such a man even as he who is athirst seeketh the spring. I found this man. He alone watched when all around him slept. He alone fed the sacred flame. He has ever remained my friend—ever as full of love for his country and of devotion to the cause of liberty. This man is Joseph Mazzini. To my friend and teacher!'

Let us appreciate this declaration by weighing it in the words of Joseph Mazzini.

[1] The *Quarterly Review*, No. clxix. p. 237, has a curious article on a pamphlet of the late Lord Beaumont, which bears directly on the subject of late events, especially in pp. 236, 237.

The *Guardian* newspaper of October 8, 1862, writes as follows:

'In a proclamation dated last month Mazzini announces to the world the definite termination of his truce with monarchy in Italy. "The royal bullet that entered Garibaldi," he says, "has torn the last line of the contract entered into by us republicans with monarchy. Freeing myself in May from every obligation towards the Government in all that related to action in favour of Rome and Venice, I said: 'It is not now a question of republic or monarchy; it is a question of action or inertia—of unity or dismemberment—of having the foreigner in Italy or expelling him.' In my own name, and in the name of my friends, I cancel to-day those lines—the last warning given to the Government—and I declare exhausted for us is every attempt at concord; dead every hope of concession or of true Italian work from an institution which, impotent to guide, is only able to repress brutally and tyrannically the holiest and most legitimate aspirations of a people which demands its own monarchy; will not, cannot create the nation: impelled by a sentiment of its approaching doom, it dissolves rapidly that portion of the nation created by the toil of others.

"History will say that we were loyal and patient. Despite the stupid calumnies of a corrupt and venal press, history will record that out of reverence to the sentence of the people, erring though it was, out of love of Joseph Garibaldi, in order not to neglect a single chance of concord, we brought to the feet of a monarchy—noted only for deceptions, greed, and persecutions—plans, hopes, presentiments, memories, our power for agitation, the good-will to Italy created by us in Europe, our influence over the working classes, and over thousands of youths, believers in our doctrines. History will record that when, after the shameful peace of Villafranca, monarchy, terrified or guilty, abandoned Venice, offered to come to terms with the Bourbon of Naples, and, in obedience to the man of the 2d of December, renounced Italy, we, all people, volunteers, writers, continued the interrupted work; provoked the annexations of Central Italy; provoked the Sicilian insurrection; provoked agitation in Naples; accepted, calumniated and insulted though we were, Garibaldi's programme; applauded the *plébiscite*, which gave to the trembling sluggish monarchy millions of men, freed not by it, but by their own and Garibaldi's hand.

"The people of Italy is misled by a lie.

"A country cannot be liberated without a principle, without the courage to deduce thence the natural consequences. Monarchy is not a principle with us; it is a calculation of opportunity erroneous according to us. Men have no faith therein; they regard it as an obstacle in their path, but dare not affront it deliberately; but, deceiving themselves and others, hope to use it as a lever."'

From the same paper, of the same date, I also extract the following portion of the address of General Garibaldi to the English nation:

'I owe you gratitude, O English nation! and I feel it as much as my soul is capable of feeling it. You were my friend in my good fortune, and you will continue your precious friendship to me in my adversity. May God bless you! My gratitude is all the more intense, O kind nation! that it rises high above all individual feeling, and becomes sublime in the universal sentiment towards nations of which you represent the progress. Yes, you deserve the gratitude of the world, because you offer a safe shelter to the unfortunate, from whatever side they may come, and you identify yourself with the misfortunes of others you pity and help. The French or Neapolitan exile finds refuge in your bosom against tyranny. He finds sympathy and aid because he is an exile, because he is unfortunate. The Haynaus, the iron executioners of autocrats, will not be supported by the soil of your free country; they will fly from the tyrannicidal anger of your generous sons.

And what should we be in Europe without your generous behaviour? Autocracy can strike her exiled ones in other countries, where only a bastard freedom is enjoyed—where freedom is but a lie. But let one seek for it on the sacred ground of Albion. I, like so many others, seeing the cause of justice oppressed in so many parts of the world, despair of all human progress. But when I turn my thoughts to you, I find tranquillity from your steady and fearless advancement towards that end to which the human race seems to be called by Providence.

Follow your path undisturbed, O unconquered nation! and be not backward in calling sister nations on the road of human progress. Call the French nation to co-operate with you. You are both worthy to walk hand in hand in the front rank of human improvement. But call her. In all your meetings let the words

of concord of the two great sisters resound. Call her! Call her in every way with your own voice and with that of her great exiles—with that of her Victor Hugo, the hierophant of sacred brotherhood. Tell her that conquests are to-day an aberration, the emanation of insane minds. And why should we conquer foreign lands, when we must all be brothers? Call her, and do not care if she is for the moment under the dominion of the Spirit of Evil. She will answer in due time; if not to-day, to-morrow; and if not to-morrow, she will later answer to the sound of your generous and regenerating words. Call, and at once, Helvetia's strong sons, and clasp them for ever to your heart. The warrior sons of the Alps—the Vestals of the sacred fire of freedom in the European continent—they will be yours! And what allies! Call the great American Republic. She is, after all, your daughter, risen from your bosom; and, however she may go to work, she is struggling to-day for the abolition of slavery so generously proclaimed by you. Aid her to come out from the terrible struggle in which she is involved by the traffickers in human flesh. Help her, and then make her sit by your side in the great assembly of nations, the final work of human reason. Call unto you such nations as possess free will, and do not delay a day. The initiative that to-day belongs to you might not be yours to-morrow. May God avert this!'

I will not trespass upon you by referring to the late revelations in Mr. Stansfeld's case in the House of Commons. I use this fact to establish from the lips of General Garibaldi his acceptance of the principles and animus of his master or guide, the representative of the Socialist revolution of Italy and of theories which I need not describe.

Whatsoever may be thought of the monarchy of Turin, I trust that they who love the monarchy of England, the monarchy of Alfred and of the Edwards, the monarchy of a thousand years of splendour and power, are not likely to lend themselves as tools to overthrow even the monarchy of Victor Emmanuel for the republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Sometimes,

indeed, in this paradoxical and inverted world, 'the noblest things find vilest using,' and vile indeed would be the use to which England would be lowered if it should listen to the adulation of these men, and consent to serve their purposes.

3. I have nothing now to do with what may be called the theology of Garibaldi. It has already been sufficiently discussed. Nevertheless I would commend it to the reflections of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose honoured name I read with sorrow at the reception of General Garibaldi. I would commend it also to the conscience of the Anglican prelate who is reported to the world as making himself conspicuous by hastening to shake hands with General Garibaldi at the bar of the House of Lords.[2] I would commend also the following, especially to the members of the Anglican Church:

'GENERAL GARIBALDI AND THE EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.—A deputation from the above Society, consisting of the secretary, the Rev. John Shedlock, M.A.; the sub-treasurer, Eusebius Pye Smith, Esq.; the Rev. W. Tiddy; Frederick Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., barrister-at-law; Dr. Camps; H. Mayo, Esq.; Ferdinand Ehrenzeller, Esq.; and Mr. Arthur Smith, had an audience with General Garibaldi yesterday morning, at the residence of Charles Seely, Esq., M.P., Princes-gate, Knightsbridge. The General received the deputation most cordially, shaking hands with each gentleman. They presented to him an address. In reply to the address General Garibaldi said: "You are the true friends of progress, and I am glad to see you. In Italy the moral influence of the Papacy is extinct, and if the French were withdrawn from Rome the Papacy would cease to exist in Italy. I do not say that I am Protestant, for if I did the priests would raise the cry of heretic against me and my influence would be gone. We are sons of the same God."

[2] *Guardian* newspaper, October 8, 1862.

Upon the Rev. J. Shedlock explaining that the object of the Society's operations was not political, not to make proselytes to Protestantism, but to give the people of Italy the Holy Scriptures, to teach the people, and to instruct the young, the General exclaimed again, "You are the true friends of progress; you are right, and I wish you all success in your efforts on behalf of Italy." H. Mayo, Esq., referred to the distinguished position to which the General had attained, and added that he wished the General eternal glory. Eusebius Pye Smith, Esq., presented the General with a copy of Vinet's *Convictions Religieuses*, in the French language, adding that we all desired a united Italy, and that he should be glad if the General could find time to peruse the volume presented at his leisure in Caprera; to which the General assented. After cordially shaking hands with each gentleman, the deputation withdrew.'[3]

These seem to me, at least, to be deplorable exhibitions, in which the indecorous and the ludicrous are provokingly mixed together.

4. Further, General Garibaldi declared at the Crystal Palace on April 17, that without the aid of her Majesty's Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Russell, and others of her Majesty's Privy Council, and Admiral Mundy, who has since denied the statement, it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished what he did in Sicily and Naples, or even to pass the Straits of Messina. General Garibaldi was then on his way to the Dictatorship illustrated by the decree in praise of Agesilao Milano. His words are reported as follows:

'England has helped us in evil times as well as in good times. The English people assisted us in our war with Southern Italy, and even now the hospitals of Naples are supplied from the abundance sent to us from this country. I speak from what

[3] *Standard* newspaper, April 21, 1864.

I know, that the Queen and the Government of England, represented by Lord Palmerston (great cheers), Lord Russell, and Mr. Gladstone, have done a wonderful deal for our native Italy (cheers). If it had not been for this country we should still have been under the yoke of the Bourbons at Naples. If it had not been for Admiral Mundy I should never have been permitted to pass the Straits of Messina (cheers).'[4]

5. Lastly, I read in the Farewell Address of Garibaldi to the English people the following words:

'But in face of the great principle of the solidarity of peoples, proclaimed and sanctioned by universal conscience, I cannot speak of Italy alone, still less at a time when the omen and promise of this true holy alliance has been irrevocably confirmed, when lately I pressed the hands of proscribed men from every part of Europe.

On quitting this hospitable shore I can no longer conceal the secret wish of my heart in recommending the cause of oppressed peoples to the most generous and sagacious of nations. Since their arising is certain and their triumph fated, England will know how to spread over them the powerful shield of her name, and to sustain them, if need be, with her strong arm.'

From the facts and documents above cited I gather,

1. That he identifies himself with the Socialist revolution of Italy, in the person of Mazzini, his master and guide.

2. That he thankfully ascribes his successes in Sicily and Naples to her Majesty's Government.

3. That he invites the English people to assume the mission and office held by France in 1789, of which he deems the French people to be now unworthy,—that is, of stimulating and assisting the seditious and Socialist revolutions which at this moment threaten every Government, absolute or constitutional, throughout Europe.

[4] *Times*, April 18, 1864.

It was therefore without surprise that I read yesterday in the public papers the following report of what passed in the Parliament of Turin:

'ITALY.

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND GARIBALDI.

Turin, Wednesday Evening.

In the Chamber of Deputies to-day, the Minister of the Interior, in reply to speeches from several members of the Opposition, stated that it was not for the Government to declare its intentions respecting General Garibaldi and his party, but that it was, above all, necessary to know how the General and his party intended to act. The Minister defended the policy of the Government, and proved the necessity of seizing the arms and money in order to prevent painful occurrences. After the journey of Garibaldi to London, after the eulogy bestowed by Garibaldi on English institutions, and the respect paid by the English nation to the Queen and the laws, the Minister hoped that nobody, apart from the King and the Government, would speak in the name of the country, or pursue a policy different from that of the Government and in opposition to the constitution.'[5]

I am anxious to know whether the English Government be in diplomatic relations with the Government of Turin, or with the party of Garibaldi in Italy.

And now, sir, I would beg leave to say a few words on these new principles of public morality preached by General Garibaldi to the English people amid the clouds of incense in which peers and peeresses enveloped him.

As to the Milano decree and the Goddess of Reason, I leave it to Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Arthur Kinnaird, to the Evangelical Continental Society, and to the

[5] *Standard*, May 7, 1864.

Anglican prelates who waited on him, to reconcile it with the purity of the Gospel. Of this I am sure: there is in England a Christian moral sense which will, sooner or later, rise indignantly upon the abuse which has been passed upon its unsuspecting generosity.

My object, however, is not to discuss these pure theologies, but to ask two practical questions. First, Is it the fact that the success of Garibaldi in Sicily and Naples is to be ascribed to her Majesty's Government? Secondly, Is the country to be entangled, excited, and driven onward by the intrigues of foreign seditions until it places itself at the head of the revolutions of Europe — that is, assume to itself the mission of France under the Directory, of which Garibaldi judges the France of to-day to be unworthy?

It is time that we should know whither we are being led, while as yet we have the power to use our free will and our discretion. If this be our policy, it ought to be clearly enunciated. A league with the revolutions of the Continent had its counterpart in a coalition of the nations of the Continent. The issue is written in history. The capitals of all Europe were for a time tormented by domestic seditions, but their sovereigns met in Paris. Are we to renew the cycle, and is England to be its centre? Such, if it mean anything, is the meaning of General Garibaldi's most opportune garrulity. It reminds me of words with which you, sir, are, I doubt not, more familiar than I can be: 'We are at war with a system which,

by its essence, is inimical to all other Governments, and which makes peace or war as peace and war may best contribute to their subversion. It is with an *armed doctrine* that we are at war. It has, by its essence, a faction of opinion, and of interest, and of enthusiasm in every country. To us it is a Colossus which bestrides our Channel. It has one foot on a foreign shore, the other upon the British soil. Thus advantaged, if it can at all exist, it must finally prevail. Nothing can so completely ruin any of the old Governments, ours in particular, as the acknowledgment, directly or by implication, of any kind of superiority in this new power.' This power is described: 'Instead of the religion and the law by which they were in a great politic communion with the Christian world, they have constructed their republic on three bases all fundamentally opposite to those on which the communities of Europe are built. Its foundation is laid in regicide, in Jacobinism, and in atheism; and it has joined to those principles a body of systematic manners which secures their operation.' 'The State, in its essence, must be moral and just; and it may be so though a tyrant or usurper should be accidentally at the head of it. This is a thing to be lamented; but this notwithstanding, the body of the commonwealth may remain in all its integrity, and be perfectly sound in its composition. The present case is different. It is not a revolution in Government. It is not the victory of party over party. It is a destruction and decomposition of the whole society; which can never be made of right by any faction, however powerful, nor

without terrible consequences to all about it, both in the act and in the example. This pretended republic is founded in crimes, and exists by wrong and robbery; and wrong and robbery, far from a title to anything, is war with mankind. To be at peace with robbery is to be an accomplice with it.'[6] But it is this 'armed doctrine,' spreading throughout the nations of Europe, and rising against all Governments, which we have been feasting, glorifying, incensing with receptions, addresses, snuff-boxes, civic liberties, proposals of yachts, landed estates, rifled muskets, and English money. Was his Grace the Duke of Sutherland aware, when, as I hear, he touched at Caprera in the Undine, that he was inviting the principles of '89 to England, and to Stafford House? It is not grateful to me, as an Englishman, to read that the Government of Turin has been compelled to seize both money and arms. Who knows what image and superscription may be upon the money, and what brands may be upon the rifles? Are these the relations of public amity in the commonwealth of nations? We have naturally an antipathy to hear the name of a foreign power breathed in our domestic questions. It is more unconstitutional than the introduction of the name of the Sovereign in the debates of Parliament. No wonder the people rose with indignation at the name of the Emperor of the French, and at the thought of foreign dictation. But the Turin Government is not likely to dictate to Great Britain. Yet it has read us a lesson, and a very sharp and humbling lesson too: the more

[6] Burke's *First Letter on a Regicide Peace*, pp. 24, 96, 118.

humbling and sharp, because we have deserved it. It was a position false and indecorous for our high and proud aristocracy, our chief statesmen, our first magistrates—to say no more—to be feasting and, I must say with shame, flattering a man who was stimulating the English people with the promise to carry the sword they gave him to Venice and to Rome. No wonder the police had to seize and to secrete banners with the words 'Rome or death!' upon them. Are these exalted and responsible personages prepared to accept the new world which they have been creating, and round which they have sung together, and in the praise of its maker shouted for joy? Are they prepared to lay their Georges and their Garters, together with their titles and their rent-rolls, on the altar of the country? The Emperor of the French, from whom we may learn, though we need not fear him, said well the other day that it was strange to see men just escaped from the storm invoking the tempest. It is, perhaps, because we have never yet encountered the storm that we are so foolhardy in invoking it, and so reckless in letting it loose upon our neighbours. It seems to me to be cruel and criminal to instigate, even by a word, the social dangers of continental nations, trusting in the security of our four seas. It is this insular selfishness which, as my own ears can bear witness, brings upon us the mistrust and just censure of foreign nations. I was witness, in 1848, of the career of Lord Minto in Italy and Rome; a large part of the last twelve years I have passed in that country, and I know the indignation, worthily aroused in my

judgment, against the irresponsible meddling, not of England, but of individuals who bear the English name. I say, not of England, because I believe the mass of Englishmen—not only the people, but the middle class, and even the highest—from their insular position, their traditional habits of thought, and their very slight knowledge of foreign countries and their condition, have entered very little and very indifferently into most questions of foreign policy. And in the hour in which they come to see that 'the party of action,' as it calls itself, is the re-appearance of the Mountain, and that 1789 is invoked as the type and tutelary power of 1864, they will fall back with indignation from the first shadow of a revolution with its Triumvirates and Conventions and Dictatorships.

The more reflecting among us began to see that we had entered upon a career of public danger. I do not pretend to know why General Garibaldi left England. Men whom I respect as intelligent and sincere persevere in affirming that it was on account of his health. Certainly he did not believe it himself; but his anxious friends say that he did not know the extent of his own maladies. Perhaps not: nor his Italian physician, and others so near to him that it would be unfeeling to alarm them with the whole truth. There are those who believe this. Be it so. There are men who believe nothing about it. Witness the working men at Primrose Hill, and Mr. Shaen, who spoke as an oracle, and promised revelations. These revelations will, I fear, be more widely believed than the explanations which they have elicited.

However, this is of little moment. One thing is certain. Not two years ago the peace of London was broken for weeks by heated language and riots in the public parks for the name of Garibaldi. Happily at this greater provocation all passed off in quiet. But London is not Manchester, and Manchester is not Liverpool, and Liverpool is not Glasgow. The follies of the last month may pass off quietly in London, where the minority to be goaded and insulted is as one in twenty; not so where they are one in four, or one in three. It is well known that desperate resolutions were already forming among those whom these foolish ovations would have driven to deplorable excesses. Without doubt the material force in England would in the end prevail: but it would be a victory dearer than a defeat. Mr. Scully asked in the House of Commons a question which nobody has answered—'What will Ireland think of these things?' I will venture to answer it. Ireland will be divided in opinion. Almost the whole people of Ireland will look upon the royal honours paid to the man who has once held Rome against the chief of their religion, and has sworn to drive him from Rome again, as the most refined and deadliest insult which could be directed against all that they cherish as holiest upon earth, and dearer than life itself. Of the rest, a large number will rejoice that the cause of independence and of the resurrection of oppressed nationalities should be preached and illuminated by the statesmen and peers and Ministers and Privy Councillors of England. They will accept it as a godsend. The sympathy of America and the patriotic effusions of the Fenians were old

stock; but who would have hoped for the enthusiastic nationalism of the English aristocracy and of the City of London? I believe, sir, we have been on the verge of lighting up the trains of political and of religious strife in every town and province of the United Kingdom. And this conflagration would be somewhat too costly for the sake of welcoming the guest even of his Grace the Duke of Sutherland. I do not pretend to say that this was among the reasons why General Garibaldi was so promptly and so splendidly conveyed out of England. But I will be bold to say that it ought to have been, not only one of them, but the first and chief, and, had there been no other, alone the sufficient reason. We have no need to invite General Garibaldi to England to sow discord among us; nor shall we, I hope, inscribe over his triumphal entry, as, I am told, some blasphemous hand did at Naples, I.N.R.I.—Joseph of Nice, the Redeemer of Italy. We disbelieve in this redemption. There has been bloodshed indeed, for we are told, and do not doubt it, that 13,000 persons have been shot by martial law in the kingdom of Naples; but of the redemption we find no sign. Government officials there, the other day, admitted to an English gentleman, from whom I heard it within a few days after the statement was made, that the political prisoners on the mainland in Naples amount to 80,000. I was credibly informed that in Sicily they amount to 20,000 more. These are the successes which General Garibaldi tells us 'without my faithful English soldiers,' without 'English men, money, and arms,' and 'without the aid of her Majesty's Ministers,' would have been impossible.

But, sir, I may not trespass longer upon your patience. Still, I must add a few words.

I am fully convinced that of the multitudes who were assembled 'the greater part knew not for what cause they were come together.' They heard it run from mouth to mouth that there was coming a hero, a conqueror, a man of courage, a man of many fights, a man of the people, a protector of the weak against the strong, of nations against despots. One, even the least, of these titles would have been enough to move an Englishman's heart to a generous sympathy, or at least to curiosity. Little knew they whom or what they were receiving. And the day will come when they will, without losing a shadow of their large-hearted and generous love of the public weal, draw back from the example 'of France in '89.' I observe, too, with joy—for I took pains to note and care to count the names—that not fifty of the near four hundred houses which represent the traditional nobility of England were presented at this new court. The newspapers, indeed, were loud in their panegyrics, almost without exception; but in the two Houses of Parliament there was a wonderful silence, as of men who are conscious of what they do not wish to put in words. The City of London presented its freedom, but the great merchant princes and the lords of the Exchange did not appear. A few commoners were in attendance, but the great commonalty of England, the lords of the soil, the sons of those who represent the untitled nobility and the heart and strength of England, were not there. It was a narrow circle after all, which, in its perpetual motion, returned always

into itself, bringing round the same gamut of names in every key and combination, strange social discords which have for once met face to face, never to meet again until General Garibaldi shall have transplanted the present confusions of Italy into the social order of England, before which, to borrow his farewell words to us, may England 'disappear under our ocean.'

There remains but one other topic, lighter, indeed, in its intrinsic gravity, but not light to those to whom the name of England and the grace and dignity of our countrymen and countrywomen are dear. I have before me many things I could write, but I will not. We have been in times past regarded by foreign nations as stately and severe in our bearing towards foreigners, especially to such as come among us with dubious antecedents and the vague reputation of adventurers. A *prisca virtus*, a kind of antique gravity, was supposed to encircle our homes and their inmates. We have not been liable to the excesses of the emotional natures which we are wont, with somewhat of supercilious compassion, to ascribe to other races. But there are those among us who are of opinion that we have of late outdone the most demonstrative, dramatic, and unguarded people among the nations of Europe.

In the midst of all these new developments of our traditional reserve, it is a consolation to turn our thoughts to the calm and perspicacious judgment of one who is the centre of all chivalrous loyalty,—the luminous example of the matronly dignity of England. What was for a while forgotten elsewhere was to be

found there still in its ascendent; tranquil, discerning, and full of forbearance, though justly incensed. But I forbear to write what crowds upon me. I wish to forget it: I wish it may be forgotten by others.

And, lastly, bear with me if I say that I trust the late events will have at least one good result. The people of England have come to the knowledge of many things. And while they desire the foreign policy of England to be large, generous, and sympathising with the weak, the suffering, and the oppressed, they will desire that it shall be open, loyal, and avowed; that it be no longer, if it has ever been, if not, that it never shall be, secret, intriguing, and seditious; that if it desire to promote the unity of any people, it shall not begin by encouraging the overthrow of thrones and governments, by demolition and disorder, which pulls down all things, and builds nothing stable or lasting in its place. England, Spain, and France, the three greatest national unities in the world, arose from their original divisions by a process slow, progressive, and mature, brought about by just laws, natural changes, and the glad acceptance of the people. I see in Italy no counterpart to those providential laws and processes in the empirical and sanguinary disorders of the last fifteen years. Moreover, I see that the whole movement has involved itself in a direct conflict with the providential order by which Christendom has been sustained for these thousand years. I do not believe in its success: I believe firmly in its failure. It may be that we shall have to suffer the same miseries as our fathers suffered in the first fifteen years of this century; that all Europe

will be tormented and afflicted again, until the order of the Christian world shall once more prevail.

It is to be hoped that no flatteries of our national pride will lead the people of England to accept the mission which Garibaldi holds before us; that England will not end the nineteenth century as France began it—by a career of offences against the rights of neighbourhood which, by the law of nations, bind the commonwealth of the civilised world together.

I have a better hope in the justice of England, in its calm sense, its tardy action, its traditional love of order, its instinctive hatred of anarchy.

But, sir, I have trespassed upon you too long, and I am entering too far into a subject which it is not my calling to treat of. I believe that the visit of General Garibaldi has opened the eyes of many to the mischievous action of her Majesty's Government in Italy; and that a calm and firm return to higher and nobler principles of international law will be the result. In this I should rejoice, not more for the welfare of Italy than for the honour of the people and of the crown of England.

Thus much I felt bound to say: not from a desire to wound, or from an intention to kindle strife, but from a sorrow at the acts of many whom I have respected, many whom I love as friends, and for the sake of my country, which I love better than any friends. For I fear that the acts of a few have for a moment tarnished the splendour of its name. I am thankful that they are few; and I trust that when others shall speak out who have of late been silent,

all England and all the world will know that the great English monarchy is not the aider, nor the abettor, nor the accomplice, either before or after the fact—still less the dupe or the tool—of Mazzini or Garibaldi.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY EDWARD MANNING.

London, May 10, 1864.

# VI.

# CARDINAL WISEMAN.

# CARDINAL WISEMAN.

(*Dublin Review*, April 1865.)

A TWOFOLD debt of filial piety forbids our opening this number with any other topic than that which will long be uppermost in the minds of the Catholics of England. The greatest event since the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy has in these last days fallen upon us. Nicholas Wiseman, the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, has passed to his eternal rest. His departure closes a period which will ever be associated with his name.

We say a debt of filial piety, because he was the chief pastor and spiritual father of the whole flock in England; and we say a twofold debt, because, in addition to the relation all alike owed to him as Catholics, we, who have endeavoured to sustain the *Dublin Review*, of which he was a joint founder, and from its outset conspicuously the ablest and most illustrious supporter, owe to his memory a kind of domestic piety, a special reverence and affection. It is a joy to us to remember that our last number closed, as if by a presentiment, with a slight outline of his mission in England. In the present we shall refer only to his relation to the *Dublin Review*, and to the circum-

stances which have made his death and burial a worthy and proportionate end to such a mission.

And first of the *Dublin Review*. The purposes for which it was founded have been so beautifully and so modestly set forth by the Cardinal's own hand, that we cannot refrain from quoting at length:

'It was in 1836 that the idea of commencing a Catholic quarterly was first conceived by the late learned and excellent Mr. Quin, who applied to the illustrious O'Connell and myself to join in the undertaking. I was in England only for a short time, and saw the difficulty of connecting myself with an enterprise so far removed from my permanent residence in Rome. Still I saw the importance of such an organ of Catholic principles and sentiments, and gladly consented to become a member of this little association. The first number appeared in May 1836, before I left this country. The two gentlemen with whom I was associated were laymen: the one living in the very whirlpool of existing politics; the other a man of letters, with a prospect, I believe, of receiving an important foreign employment from Government; both were sincerely attached to their faith and Church. I considered myself as associated to represent the theological and religious elements in the journal, and to secure to its pages soundness of doctrine. It was understood to be a condition of this association that no extreme political views should be introduced into the Review; and this condition has, in most trying times, been faithfully observed.

A few years of separation virtually, and afterwards death most really, sundered this bond; and I find myself the only survivor of those who began an undertaking that has grown to some magnitude—looking back through thirty-three volumes, or sixty-seven numbers, of a periodical work, undertaken for a great purpose, and having to account for my share of responsibility in it, and answer whether I have remained faithful to its first principles and steady to its object.

While obeying the suggestions of others, by preparing the present publication, I have had ample opportunity of examining this question; and I trust I may be indulged if I make such observations upon it as may throw light upon the papers here reprinted.

The moment when I was invited to join in this new Review

appeared to me most critical and interesting. Three years before had begun to manifest themselves the germs of that wonderful movement which, originating at Oxford, was destined to pervade and agitate the Anglican Establishment, till it should give up many of its most loving and gifted sons to the Catholic Church; peculiar circumstances, allusion to which will be found in a note in vol. ii. pp. 93 and 102, had made me at Rome previously acquainted with the rise and progress of this great religious revolution; and I had been surprised, on visiting England in 1835, to find how little attention it had yet excited among Catholics, though many *Tracts for the Times* had already appeared, and Dr. Whately had sung out to their writers, "*Tendimus in Latium.*" It was, indeed, impossible for any one to foresee what might be the final results of so new and strange a commotion in the hitherto stagnant element of the State religion. Even now, after twenty years, and notwithstanding the many great consequences which have already issued from it, its activity is not exhausted. The impulse given by the first Tract still urges on the body which it struck; and it will roll forward for a long time to come, while fragments detach themselves, and run before it, towards the goal which we pray it may all attain. But even in that first bud of the rising power it was impossible for a calm and hopeful eye not to see new signs in the religious firmament, which it became a duty to observe, unless one wished to incur the Divine reproach, addressed to those who note not the providential warnings and friendly omens of the spiritual heavens. For Catholics to have overlooked all this, and allowed the wonderful phenomenon to pass by, not turned to any useful purpose, but gazed at, till it died out, would have been more than stupidity, it would have been wickedness. To watch its progress, to observe its phases, to influence, if possible, its direction, to move it gently towards complete attainment of its unconscious aims; and, moreover, to protest against its errors, to warn against its dangers, to provide arguments against its new mode of attack, and to keep lifted up the mask of beauty under which it had, in sincerity, covered the ghastly and soulless features of Protestantism,—these were the duties which the new Review undertook to perform, or which, in no small degree, it was expressly created to discharge. And the necessity of attending to these new duties formed the strongest inducement to myself to undertake its theological direction.

At the same time, Catholics had begun to recover from that first torpor which benumbs, for a time, the limbs just freed from

fetters. Signs of a more active circulation had shown themselves: communities were springing up; schools were beginning to be multiplied; new missions were opened; churches, upon a scale of size and of embellishment previously unknown, were contemplated or begun; and the people were evidently manifesting more interest in our religion, and a more fair disposition to hear and judge it justly. It seemed the favourable moment to strike another chord, and stir up a spirit yet slumbering, but ready to awake.

The Catholic religion as she is in the fulness of her growth, with the grandeur of her ritual, the beauty of her devotions, the variety of her institutions, required to be made more known to many who had never seen her other than she had been reduced by three hundred years of barbarous persecution.

It was therefore with a strong desire, and a sincere determination, to make the *Dublin Review* the organ and the promoter of Catholic progress, within and without; it was with a conscientious resolution that its theology should belong to the present day—that is, should treat of living questions and existing controversies—should grapple with real antagonists, wrestle with tangible errors, that I agreed to turn from studies long pursued and ardently cherished to the anxious care and desultory occupation involved in the direction of such a publication. Works not only long contemplated, but for which materials had been gathered with diligence, were given up at this period, in consequence of time and attention being more required for passing events and current literature.

I cannot, indeed, without ingratitude, reject the consolations received from effects attributed to them; for I fear that my readers will wonder sometimes at finding wants mentioned now so well supplied, and feelings suggested long become so familiar, that the very memory of our deficiencies has faded away. More than half a generation has passed by since those passages were written which now describe an unknown state of things. And if their words had some influence in producing the change, their power lay in this alone—that they were sincere, cordial, and affectionate descriptions of realities often witnessed by the writer, deeply admired and tenderly loved; they were words of truth and of charity, which ever bear with them their own evidences and convictions, straight to the minds of all.

That the many imperfections of so miscellaneous a collection may be elaborately investigated and severely handled, I am fully prepared to expect. I have long ceased to anticipate fair dealing

from those who look upon me as an enemy, and think it their duty to treat me as such. Custom, however, inures us to this; and I trust I shall have patience to bear it to the end. And nothing helps one more to this than a consciousness that no bitterness of thought, or personal rancour, or desire to wound, has guided one's own pen or intentions. Should any words of mine suggest a different impression, I shall sincerely regret it.

With these words of peace, I take leave of my courteous reader; wishing him from above all grace and blessing, as I bid him to implore for me all mercy and forgiveness.

Easter MDCCCLIII.'

But it is not our purpose now to say more of this special bond which binds us to his memory. We do so only out of veneration and gratitude, and of a deep sense of the service rendered in these last thirty years to the Catholic Church in England by the *Dublin Review*, and therefore by him who was by far its chief ornament and strength. In the last two years since it passed into other hands the declining health of our lamented Cardinal compelled him to postpone again and again the kind and encouraging promises he made to us of contributions from his pen. No line written by him has therefore appeared in it; and though most kindly watched and approved by him, this Review has had no other relation to or dependence on our most eminent pastor. And here we leave this subject, adding only one word. If at the end of our labours the second series of the *Dublin Review* should yield from all the hands which may contribute to it three volumes of essays worthy to stand afar off by those of Cardinal Wiseman for beauty, variety, learning, freshness, originality, and, above all, for pure solid Catholic doctrine and high filial devotion to Rome, we shall hope that

we have not failed in the trust which he has bequeathed to us.

We have said that the withdrawal from us not only of the foremost man of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, but one of the chief lights of the Sacred College, and therefore of the Church throughout the world, is an event which closes a period. It does so. The man chosen for the restoration of the Hierarchy, and its first organic development, is gone.

The Hierarchy now passes under the ordinary condition of the Church in all other lands. The pastors who rule over it will be surely and wisely chosen for its guidance; but the period of its restoration, with all its throes and trials, is past.

This eventful period of fifteen years both opened and closed with a popular movement, exceptional in its character and extent. It opened with a tempest; it closed with a great mourning. It is strange that the same man should have been the object and the centre of both. Fifteen years of open manly bearing, fifteen years of unspotted life and of high Christian virtues, have sufficed to win the confidence, admiration, and sympathy of the English people. Conspicuous as he was in the dignity of his name, he was almost unseen by his personal retirement and quietness of life. Except in the ecclesiastical acts which compelled him to speak or appear as Archbishop and Metropolitan, no man ever lived more unobtrusively, or less exposed himself to public gaze. When invited to any act which would instruct or give pleasure to the English people, no man was ever more prompt and kindly.

And yet this is the man who, from 1850 to 1860, was described habitually by many who never saw him, or never heard so much as a word from his lips, in terms and titles which, if we could, we would not reproduce. We shall freely use our privilege to say that if the leading articles of the chief newspapers which in those ten years described his Eminence the late Cardinal—his opinions, his pastorals, his pretensions, his aims, and we know not what—were reprinted in parallel columns with the leading articles of those same papers during the last six weeks, we should have before us a strange memorial of human infirmity, but no strange example of English honesty and truth.

It would be no unkindly admonition to anonymous writers if we were to reprint them, and many would be wiser men for it. We remember a case in point. During the excitement of the Papal aggression, all the bishops of the Establishment in succession denounced the Catholic Hierarchy. A quiet person with scissors cut out and pasted together the chief flowers and formulas of episcopal vituperation. They were then distributed into categories, and graduated according to their intensity. They were something like the gamut—a slender provision of few notes, but capable of almost endless combination. 'Unwarranted, aggressive, usurping;' 'insolent, intolerable, anti-Christian;' 'anti-Christian, usurping, and insolent;' 'insolent, intolerable, and aggressive.' It began like a symphony of Beethoven, with a single deep note; then two, then one again, then a chord, then a complication and a volume of sound. When once printed in order, and set before educated

men, no comment was needed. The experiment has not been tried again. So we believe it was with the late illustrious Cardinal. He was a Roman Catholic; he was a Cardinal; he came from the Pope of Rome; he was born in Spain; he was Irish by race; he was an Archbishop in England without our leave, and head of an Episcopate not known to the Crown. He must be designing, crafty, overbearing, superstitious, un-English, covetous, grasping, ambitious, ignorant of England, an alien—the paid envoy of a foreign sovereign. It needed no proof, no evidence, no sign: all was certain as day. So for ten years men wrote of him in public, spoke of him in private, and, worst of all, believed of him, without caring or wishing to know better. What has wrought the change? From time to time he was seen and heard. Here and there, first one, then another, came across him. Kindly sympathising words were caught up from his lips; charitable and secret actions got abroad. It was felt, and therefore found, that the man had a heart, and could feel for others as well as be wounded—could show kindness as well as suffer unkindness.

Then came a period which conciliated for him much generous feeling—the last five years of almost continual suffering. It was well known that a mortal malady had struck him; and much sympathy from all parts of England, and from the least likely persons, was manifested towards him. Men of all religious opinions—clergymen of the Church of England, Dissenting ministers—wrote to him or to his friends, enclosing prescriptions, and expressing their kindly regard. A great ap-

preciation was shown for the life which ten years before was threatened by public danger. It was during these five years of declining strength, and while those about him advised that he should unbend his mind in all possible ways, that he gave the lectures on art, on industry, on self-cultivation, on architecture, and the like, which have made his name and the memory of his presence dear to a multitude in London, and in many of our larger towns, where a few years ago he was carried about in effigy. Highly honourable all this to the great heart and mind of Cardinal Wiseman, and honourable also to the English people. Englishmen may misunderstand each other for a time—perhaps for a long time; but we hardly know an example in which the most violent antipathies and animosities have not been at last lived down. Sometimes men who have been railed upon and assaulted on every side for years have won to themselves an equal respect and benevolence in their latter days. The only exception we know to this is where the popular odium is just, and the man worthy of it. And yet even in this extreme case there is about the people of England a natural compassion, and a readiness to condone or to be blind to faults which sometimes absolves even the unworthy. But in the case of great men and good men, who suffer for fidelity to their principles, without, perhaps, yielding a shade of opposition to their principles, Englishmen, at least, are just and kindly. They give and take; and as they claim to think for themselves in religion, so they granted willingly to our great and large-hearted Cardinal the unmolested profession of his Tridentine and Ultramon-

tane principles. We say this was honourable on both sides, because we do not venture to argue from the change of feeling towards the late lamented Cardinal that English public opinion has approximated to his tenets; and all the world is witness how, as one of the public notices of him truly said, 'he had never changed the colour of one feather in his Ultramontanism.' First, then, we would remark upon the almost unanimous expression of admiration, respect, and sympathy, and we must say of English national pride, which has shown itself in the last two months around the closing days of this great man.

We pass over the exceptions, and very few they are, from this veneration to his greatness, on which such nameless aspersions cannot cast so much as a momentary shade. We should dishonour him by defending him.

Still less shall we notice expressions here and there, well intended so far as good-will, but neither true nor just. We forget the mistakes for the sake of the intention.

But of the great majority of the notices which have appeared in the public papers we can but have one feeling. They were honourable both to the subject and to the writers; and they give proof that the people of England can respect and even love sincerity, reality, and consistency in those who are most opposed to their opinions.

We read in this fact certain great counsels very wholesome to us all, most of all to those who, being still young, have the happiness of a long life before them, in which to serve God and His Church in England.

The life and death of Cardinal Wiseman may teach us that compromise is not the way to win the English people. Englishmen do not understand compromise. They do not understand a man being in earnest except for what he believes to be true. And they still less understand his playing fast and loose with what he affirms that he believes. They perfectly understand his fighting for it. To give and take hard knocks for it is logic to them. There is philosophy and theology in honest manly fight. It is to most of us, if not a proof that our adversary is right, at least a pledge that he is sincere.

Again, the respect and affection which have surrounded the last days of the Cardinal are a proof that the highest and strongest principles in faith may be combined with the most kindly and benevolent bearing. We believe we may say that among the English Protestants he has not left an enemy. We can confidently say from our own personal knowledge of facts that he has left a multitude of friends and friendly hearts.

His great career, beginning in storm and ending in so much calm, teaches us all this sure and salutary lesson, that unpopular truth always in the end prevails over popular illusions; and they who have the courage to stand for it, and are not afraid when they enter into the cloud, shall assuredly come forth from it before the end, as the sun which is over their heads.

But even these spontaneous expressions of respect and benevolence did not prepare us for the events which passed from the 15th to the 23d of February last.

As soon as it was known that all that remained to

us of our great Cardinal Archbishop lay arrayed in his pontifical vestments in the humble and modest dwelling where his latter years were passed, immediately a multitude of people began to assemble. For days the crowd was so great that many, after long waiting, went away without so much as entering the door of the house. Not only Catholics, who were drawn by faith and by charity once more into the presence of the form which they knew so well, but many of those who are unhappily 'not of this fold,' asked admittance with the greatest desire and respect. We doubt whether there has been any 'lying in state' which has awakened such heartfelt sorrow, or drawn together a greater concourse through so many days.

But this public mourning was only in its beginning. On the evening before the day of the burial the solemn dirge was to be sung in the pro-cathedral of S. Mary's, Moorfields. The coffin was then removed to that place. It is said that thirty thousand persons on that day went through the church by the bier, passing out by the door of the house attached to the cathedral. The multitudes were so great that it was impossible to allow them to kneel or to linger. Persons were placed by the bier to touch the coffin with their rosaries and the like, and to press them onwards. But even this did not prepare for the next day. We have no powers of description; and the subject has been already exhausted. The outline, and even the minutest detail, of that great day of public mourning has been recorded by the Protestant papers of England. The Mass of solemn requiem, none who saw and heard it will ever forget. It was in

solemnity, grandeur, and pathos all that the burial of a great pastor and prince of the Church of God ought to be.

Then began the strangest sight which England has seen for three hundred years—a funeral procession which seemed endless in length; the whole Catholic Hierarchy of England, with some hundreds of the priesthood, conducting the remains of their Archbishop and Metropolitan to the grave. Along the whole line of road from the cathedral, for four or five miles, a crowd of people of every class and condition stood closely together on either side of the street. The greatest order, silence, and respect prevailed. As the funeral car passed all heads were bared. The multitude at the cemetery was still more dense. Without doubt the desire to see a great and strange pageant brought many there that day. Among the crowds there must have been many who had no special feeling of sympathy and condolence with the mourning of that funeral. Nevertheless, after all this has been said, there remains a fact which nothing can diminish, which no one has affected to explain away, which even the hostile witnesses have recorded, that such a funeral has never been seen except in royal burials, nor in our days since the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. We do not know that any form of speech could be found to go beyond this, or to fix more vividly the facts of that day. We should not have ventured to use them. Had we done so, we should have been held up to ridicule for the exaggeration and grandiloquence of a handful aping the proportions and talking the language of a people.

But the fact was so. Date the days when any personage in England was borne forth to burial with such manifestation of—call it what you will—mourning, sympathy, respect, or bare recognition. In our lifetime an Anglican Bishop of London, who had been publicly known to the population of that city during a longer incumbency than the eighteen years' episcopate of Cardinal Wiseman, was carried to his grave. He was a learned, cultivated, eloquent, benevolent, exceedingly laborious, large-minded, and warm-hearted man. He was surrounded by all the traditions and circumstances with which the Church and State of England could invest him. He deserved at their hands a great and noble manifestation of affection and respect; he had served them so as we remember no other to have done. He wore himself out in their service. His last years were especially touching. Broken with faithful toil for the Anglican Church in London, he withdrew to await his end in feebleness and out of sight. We are glad in passing to bear this testimony to one whose personal memory is, and ever will be, dear to many who were parted from him. And yet when he passed to his grave the stir and business of London held on its way. He deserved another response, but it was not in the millions of London to give it. Again, two Archbishops of Canterbury have been borne to their burial. Did London rise up to meet them? Were the roads lined for miles? Were there thousands and tens of thousands for days before Lambeth Palace?

There have been many men of great popularity, rank, and name buried in Westminster Abbey in these last

twenty years. What one man has awakened—kindled, we may say—such a wide-spread sense of his death, and of his burial, as the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster?

We may now appreciate the exquisite delicacy and felicity of the following words from the leading article of the *Morning Post*, February 24:

'Against Roman Cardinals, Westminster and Canterbury and Lambeth are apparently closed for ever; and amid all the pomp which has characterised the present obsequies, nothing can have thrown a greater chill upon the ceremonial than the remembrance that those great shrines which were once in Catholic hands are uniformly closed, in death as in life, to the priestly emissaries of the Church of Rome. The pageant of yesterday, with all its imposing ceremonial, was the pageant of an ostracised religion.'

Why, S. Paul's and Canterbury and Westminster Abbey all together have not been able to produce, except for one great soldier, such a public mourning, which extended over ten days. The Holy Mass was, indeed, offered in an obscure Catholic cathedral, but hundreds of thousands followed all the way to a green burial-ground, hardly known by name to the upper classes of London. We say the admonition is delicate, because, translated, it means, 'Remember, we have even the graves of your fathers. You shall not even rest by them after death.' There is something intimately bland, generous, and human in this.

And it is as signally felicitous in the mouth of those who, with all the glories of the Catholic Church in their hands, cannot surround their great, or noble, or splendid dead with a tithe of the reverence which carried the pall of the first Archbishop of Westminster.

Men may build sepulchres in Westminster Abbey, but they cannot touch the heart of a populace. It needs a higher power to do this. The same paper already quoted has unconsciously, and by an amusing inversion of its intention, exactly touched the point. It said: 'The present effort was certainly a great one for an unrecognised Church.'

For an 'unrecognised Church'? Why, surely the Anglican Church is recognised in England, and yet it has never produced such a demonstration. But, perhaps, the Catholic Church is a recognised body after all, and for that reason did and can always produce a demonstration proportionate to the facts and circumstances of the event. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster was a person recognised throughout Christendom, even where the name of no Archbishop of Canterbury has been recognised for three centuries. The Catholic nations of the world knew him by name and by form, and recognised him as the chief pastor of the scattered flock in England. They recognised too the province over which he presided as the Catholic Church in these realms, with which they have conscious unity of heart, mind, will, fortunes, sorrows, and joys. It was this world-wide recognition of the Catholic Church in England which told upon London and upon England, whether they would or no. A Catholic Archbishop and a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church may be legislated against, legally exiled, ignored, extinguished. *Mergas profundo, pulchrior evenit.* The world knows him, and knows nobody else in his place. His titles are ineffaceable, because his character is indelible. All

the legal recognition upon earth could not create another Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. There are two other kinds of recognition, wider and truer than the recognition of legislatures, springing from a higher and from a deeper fountain—the one is of the Church throughout the world; the other is the public consciousness of a people even in its hostility; and these two unite in the recognition of the Catholic Church and Hierarchy in England. Nevertheless, the critic was partly in the right. That day of public mourning was a wonderful event, springing from no adequate material cause. It was not got up by vote of Parliament, nor by an act of prerogative, nor by the organisation of public agencies and public funds. It was the simple act of the metropolitan chapter and clergy of Westminster, out of their poverty, giving burial to their Archbishop. Even the dignity of Cardinal added hardly an appreciable element in the provision and order of that day. They carried him out to burial with all simplicity. The funeral array was majestic for its vastness and continuity, not for any display of unusual costliness. The car was not like the stupendous funeral throne which now lies buried under the dome of S. Paul's. It was simple, open, slender, bare; and was criticised by the *Times* for its meanness. We are so much the better pleased. The majesty of that burial train was altogether such as became a pastor, and a great pastor, of the Church. And as it went along it carried the hearts of a hierarchy, a priesthood, and a flock along with it. And a multitude of the English people, to whom the Catholic Church in England is as

much a recognised fact as the Anglican Establishment —we refrain now willingly from saying much more which crowds upon us—stood by, or followed in kindly and reverent sympathy. There were doubtless there many who are far from us in their religious convictions, yet they have learned to recognise and to respect manliness, zeal, hard work for souls and for the poor, industry in duty, fidelity to conscience. They too could look on with kindliness. Many were there who, though not even near to the Catholic Church, have been long healed of the blindness which once made them hate or fear it. Many too whose hearts feel kindly to it as the Church of the poor; and in London eminently the Church which makes itself seen, known, felt, and trusted by multitudes of the most destitute and suffering of our people. All these, and many other classes of minds which we cannot stay to enumerate, were to be found in the great concourse which streamed along those miles of streets.

But there was, as we believe, still another sense awakened. One who passed through the crowd as a mourner said truly, 'I was convinced that, whether they knew it or not, multitudes felt that day, as they looked upon the funeral procession, "This was the old religion of England: this was once the religion of our fathers."' They who had read the history of their country could recall memories of Pole, Wolsey, and Langton. They who were simplest saw before them the living presence of the great Catholic Church which once filled the land. The English poor have it as a proverb, 'The Catholic religion was

the first religion, and it will be the last.' Its reappearance on that day in such wide-spread sympathy of men of every class preached to them on that homely prophecy. What Nicholas Wiseman had prayed, laboured, and suffered to do, he did that day more powerfully and more persuasively than ever before. He had spent his life to make the people of England know and love once more the Church of their fathers. That day was the noblest and worthiest close to such a life.

And thus we leave him, with the tribute of our grateful and loving veneration, as the dusk of evening made more purely bright the tapers around his grave: greater in its humility than all the glories of Westminster as it now is, where S. Edward, whom he loved so well, still holds his own for God and for the future. So we leave him while the *Miserere* is ascending to heaven, like the voice of many waters, sweet, plaintive, but strong, as the hope of the Church in England, as the truths he has taught us, and as his prayers, which ascend for us before the eternal Throne.

# VII.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

SESSION 1866-7.

THIS is the first time it has fallen to me to address the Academia since its lamented founder was taken from us. Last year it would have been my duty to open its proceedings, but I was out of England at the time of its first meeting.

I well remember the moment when, in his great illness in Rome, the Cardinal gave me commission to begin this work; and with what interest he watched over it, even when declining strength hindered his taking part in its acts. The importance of the Academia as a centre round which we may unite, and as a help to the formation and spread of sound Catholic opinion, becomes every year more evident; and I trust that we shall all do our utmost to sustain it and to promote its efficiency.

In opening the sixth year, it might seem needless to speak of the end for which the Academia was instituted, and of the subjects which are proper to it. I have indeed already once before endeavoured so to do. Nevertheless it appears to me that an opening address ought to be directed rather to the Academia itself than to any particular topic. Its aim is not so much to treat

any subject as to excite others to write, and to suggest such matters as the circumstances of our times seem to require. Such I take to be my present office:

'Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.'

I hope that other members of the Academia, who have more resources and more leisure, will, for our future meetings, make a special study of such particular topics as bear upon our present religious and intellectual tendencies.

The end of the Academia is the maintenance and defence of the Catholic religion, both positively in itself, and in its relation to all other truth; and polemically, as against all forms of erroneous doctrines, principles, and thought. It is within its scope, therefore, to keep a note of the state of floating opinion, and of the contemporaneous intellectual movements both within and without the Church. I would suggest to the members to take some of the following topics for our future sessions:

1. The present state and tendencies of religious thought among the Protestant Dissenters of England and Scotland.
2. The progress of Rationalism among English Protestants, noting their published writings.
3. The points of opposition between the philosophy of Hamilton, Mill, and Mansell, and the philosophy of the Church.
4. A Catholic criticism of Buckle's book on civilisation, of Froude's history of Henry VIII., and of Macaulay's account of James II., in its bearing upon the Catholic Church and the acts of the Holy See.
5. An examination of the principles of 1789, and especially of the pretended sovereignty of the people.
6. The political aspect of the Temporal Power of the Pope;

its foundations in political right, and the public order of nations.

7. The office of the Temporal Power as the providential condition, not of the spiritual power, as some foolishly impute to us, but of the freedom of the spiritual office of the Pontiffs.
8. An exposure of the pretended donations of the Temporal Power by Constantine, Pepin, Charlemagne.
9. A treatment of the proposition that, 'Given the Christian world, the Temporal Power of the Pontiffs is the legitimate expression of the supremacy of the Christian law in both the spiritual and temporal order.'
10. The freedom of the Church in its Head as the condition of its purity in doctrine and discipline, illustrated by the heresies and schisms of the Greeks and the Protestants.
11. The propositions of the Syllabus.
12. The Baconian Philosophy in its relation to Catholic dogma.
13. Examination and refutation of the modern objections to the historical narratives of Holy Scripture.
14. The rise, formation, and characteristics of the Canon law, and its relation to the interior life of the Church.
15. The ancient Canon law of England, and its relation to the common and statute law of the realm in Catholic ages.
16. The rise, growth, and final outbreak of the rebellion against the authority of the Holy See from the Conquest to the Reformation.
17. The perpetual expansion of the Church proved by the history of the Catholic missions.

For the present, all I can do is to touch generally upon one point in the crisis of religious thought through which the Anglican religion is now passing, and on our duties towards it.

The three hundred years since the separation of England from the Catholic unity present two very remarkable tendencies in religious thought. Let us take as a starting-point the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, for until then the Anglican Reformation had

not obtained its last form. From that time till the early part of the last century, the positive doctrines of Christianity which survived in the Anglican religion were steadily declining. Notwithstanding the hierarchical development from the time of Bilson to the time of Laud, the recognition of episcopacy as of Divine institution was gradually but surely departing from the English people. The Revolution of 1688 greatly weakened its hold. It lived on for a while in the narrow body of the Nonjurors, and with them the higher and more spiritual perceptions of the Episcopal order passed away. A curious proof may be seen in a leading article of the *Times* newspaper, which describes the Archbishop of Canterbury in Scotland as a Dissenter. The same decline is to be traced in the doctrine of sacramental grace, and of the operations of the Holy Spirit. The lowest time in the religious thought of England may be put at about the middle of the last century. The perfect outline of Faith had been broken at the time of the separation ; but many doctrines, more or less truly understood and professed, still survived, not only in the books but in the minds of men, through the end of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth century. But after that time the warmth had departed from the body. There was a continual downward tendency until the pietistic revival which arose both in Germany and in England in the last hundred years; then came a reaction.

From the middle of the last century the truths which had been lost began one by one to return. Religious belief began to reascend. It was like the first rising

of the sap after the winter; and the new life has continued to expand to this day. This resurrection of religious thought, and the return of Catholicism to England in our day, had its beginning in causes far beyond our time and country. It is the effect of no individual mind and of no isolated event, but of a current which, like the Gulf Stream, has forced its way through the colder waters. The free-thinkers of George I. and George II.'s time called forth a host of defences of Christianity; these were followed by defences of the inspiration and truth of Holy Scripture; these again by proofs of the doctrines of redemption and of grace; next, from 1790 to 1820, came the doctrines of justification and of regeneration; afterwards, from 1820 to 1830, the doctrine of baptism; next, from 1830 to this day, the apostolical succession; then of episcopacy, of tradition, of the Real Presence, of absolution; then of unity and authority in the Church; then of seven sacraments, of purgatory, of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, of the religious life; then of vestments and of ritual. I might go still further into detail, but this is enough. Bishop Warburton, in writing the *Divine Legation of Moses*, little thought that in a century men would be reading the *Eirenicon;* nor, when, as Dean of Durham, he threw off the copes which are there still shown in glass cases, that at this time a Church Congress at York would be exhibiting chasubles upon lay figures for the use of the Anglican clergy. I do not indeed believe that this current is a flood, but only a stream; it is not the sweep of the ocean, but only of a path in the waters. The popula-

tion of England is steadily setting away from these things, but there is a broad movement of men's minds towards a more perfect faith and worship. It seems contradictory to say that, with this return towards the truth, the hold of faith over the people has grown continually less; but it is most certainly true. The masses are moving away, but individuals in great numbers are returning upwards to the light of faith.

No one can have watched this, year by year, without a strong sympathy with those who are disengaging themselves from error, and trying to lift the Anglican system towards the truth. Their zeal and self-denial can be ascribed to no human power. Nothing but the Spirit of God can produce such a steadfast and uniform return towards the light. And though it is not possible to sympathise in many of their imitations of Catholic doctrine and worship, still less in their language and attitude towards the Catholic Church, we cannot but recognise in these strange and unprecedented phenomena the working of the Spirit of Truth, drawing men, step by step, out of the illusions and falsehoods of the Anglican separation into the unity of the only Church.

I can well remember how, at the time of Catholic Emancipation, it was thought impossible that the Catholic Faith should ever regain its hold in England. Men used then, as I well recollect, to say, the superstition of Romanism cannot revive in the light of the nineteenth century. This was the sincere belief of the majority of Protestants. They were so sure of their own position, the Catholic controversy had been for centuries so powerless, the number of Catholics had

been so thinned by penal laws, that the Emancipation was conceded to Ireland for fear of civil war, to England for pity upon a helpless and pitiable handful, whom nobody cared to persecute because nobody thought of fearing. In those days it was believed that Romanism had nothing more to say for itself; that the great Anglican controversialists, whose works are to be found embalmed and forgotten in Gibson's *Tracts*, had swept it away by overwhelming proofs of antiquity, Scripture, and reason. It was believed to be superstitious in its premises, and inconsequent in its logic. Protestants were as confident against Catholics as Christians are against Mahometans. The Anglican Church described itself always as 'pure and apostolical,' and the Thirty-nine Articles were a mild form of the daily language used by preachers against the Church of Rome.

It was of no use then for a Catholic to write in defence of his faith. Nobody paid any attention; nobody would buy his book; nobody would read it, or, if read it, believe it. The clearness of it was only speciousness; the difficulty of answering it was only proof positive of deceit. The whole world in England had settled that Protestantism was right, Catholicism wrong; and every house and all ears were closed against it.

Another remarkable feature of those times—not more than thirty years ago—was that the Catholic Church was hardly anywhere to be seen. It existed in a few old families, and was represented by their chaplains. The mountain that filled the whole earth

was here under a cloud. No man saw it, as now, rising above his head.

We can hardly conceive a more complete annihilation than the state to which three hundred years of penal laws had reduced the Church in England. It was neither visible nor audible. It had no literature, no influence on public opinion, no hold upon the legislature, no recognition in the country. It was tolerated because it was powerless, and permitted to go at large only because it was despised.

A more wonderful and visibly supernatural change than that which these thirty years have produced can hardly be found in history.

The Church in France was destroyed seventy years ago, and has risen again with an increase of vigorous life; but then the French people were a Catholic people; the traditions of the Catholic faith pervaded the whole population; and the Government by its public action restored the Church and its worship; and that too within a period so near to the original overthrow that the life had never been extinct. It was rather the passing of a delirium than a resurrection from death.

Not so in England. The Church had disappeared for three hundred years. The whole weight of the Tudor supremacy had crushed it, and still lay upon it. Some nine generations of Protestantism, with strange vicissitudes of terrible penal laws, had, as it is the fashion now to say, stamped it out.

Now, in estimating the present position of the Catholic religion among us, I make no parallel between the

universality and visibleness of the Church in France and of the Church in England. In France it overspreads and contains, or claims at least, almost the whole population. In England it counts but one million upon twenty, and that million for the most part not of English blood.

The Hierarchy and the Priesthood are withdrawn from the public, and even the private, life of England; the churches are few and scattered, and with the exception of a small number, are obscure and out of sight. Certainly nothing can be less imposing or less sensible than the Catholic Church in England. Its 'bodily presence is weak,' but its speech is not 'contemptible.' It has engaged the ear, if it does not fill the eye of English society. It has an influence upon public opinion, and upon private life, which cannot be shaken off. It is like a small garrison which will hold a city, or a column of occupation which retains its grasp upon a territory, not by a material presence everywhere, but by a moral force which reaches far beyond its cantonments.

Thirty years ago any one who introduced religion into conversation caused a silence. He was a methodist, or a madman, or both. Nowadays there is hardly a private house in which it is not uppermost, or any occasion on which it is not introduced. I will not say that art, literature, and poetry are become religious; but I may say that religious art, religious literature, and religious poetry, still more that all these in their highest Catholic forms, are to be found throughout England. In families where a Catholic priest has never

entered, Catholic books find their way; in others where Catholic books have never entered, Catholic engravings precede the faith. Even the newspapers have taken the infection. Eldad and Medad prophesy in the camp; Saul also is among the prophets. They describe all our doings; and thousands who would not for the world set foot in a Romish church read photographic descriptions of High Masses and Requiems, and consecrations, and openings of churches, processions at Boulogne, pilgrimages in the Pyrenees, canonisations in S. Peter's. The air is full of it. Call it a plague of frogs, of flies, or of boils. It is upon man and beast. Throw ashes into the air, they come down Popery.

I do not think I am exaggerating. Certainly I am not describing this as the achievement or the work of any individuals, nor even of the Bishops and priests of the Catholic Church in England. Such a change in the intellectual and religious habits of society, and that too in spite of such inveterate prejudices of the intellect and persistence of the will, can be ascribed to nothing less than to an influence of the Holy Spirit of truth and peace, which is, after so long a time, cleansing again the eyes that were filmed, and opening the ears that were shut up. The intellectual and spiritual sight of men is once more fixing itself clearly and calmly upon the illumination of faith. The disproportionate influence exercised by the Catholic Church in England upon society, when compared with the narrow material presence of the Church and its signal disadvantages of poverty and obscurity, can be in no

way accounted for but by the working of a Divine agency casting up the way by which the truth shall hereafter advance. It is like the warmth of spring coming before the summer — the harbinger of its approach.

And this sensible change which has passed over the surface of our country is only the early indication of a far deeper change which has passed upon a smaller number of minds, but with a greater depth. I have already said that the tendency to unbelief is wide and extending. Nevertheless the reaction towards faith is also steady and constant. There was never a moment when, notwithstanding all contrary symptoms, the Dissenters were more inclined towards the Establishment, and never a moment when the Establishment was more inclined towards the Church. I speak of it as an inclination; for I neither expect that Dissenters will be absorbed by Anglicanism, nor Anglicanism by the Catholic Church. The tide, however, is in that direction; and it is a tide of which no law of sufficient force can be found except a momentum of the will and grace of God.

But the return of Catholic truth is not confined to this vague, popular, superficial, and æsthetic fashion of men's minds. It has taken a more definite and energetic form. In the last thirty years there has sprung up in the Anglican Establishment an extensive rejection of Protestantism, and a sincere desire and claim to be Catholic. Ever since the Reformation, indeed, the writers of the Anglican Church have claimed to be Catholic, but none that I know disclaimed to be

Protestant. They assumed that a Protesting Christian was *ipso facto* a Primitive Catholic. Not so now. Protestantism is recognised as a thing intrinsically untenable and irreconcilable with the Catholic faith. The school of which I speak claim to be Catholic because they reject Protestantism with all its heterodoxies. In this school are to be found many Catholic doctrines, not exactly or fully expressed or believed—for such are not to be found either full or exact out of the Catholic Church—but more or less near to truth. For instance, the Church of England forbids the use of the term transubstantiation by declaring the doctrine to be an error. The doctrine of the Real Presence, less transubstantiation, is like the doctrine of one God in three Persons, less the doctrine of the Trinity. Not only is the term rejected, but the conception is correspondingly inaccurate. This runs through all the Catholic doctrines which are professed out of the unity of the Church, and apart from the traditions of its sacred terminology. It is under this limitation that I go on to say that at this time the doctrine of the sacraments, their nature, number, and grace; the intercession and invocation of saints; the power of the priesthood in sacrifice and absolution; the excellence and obligations of the religious life,—are all held and taught by clergymen of the Church of England. Add to this, that the practice of confession, and of works of temporal and spiritual mercy, in form and by rule borrowed from the Catholic Church, are all to be found among those who are still within the Anglican communion. I must also add the latest and strangest phenomenon of this

movement—the adoption of an elaborate ritual, with its vestments borrowed from the Catholic Church.

On all these things I trust a blessing may descend. I see in them many things. First, they are a testimony in favour of the Catholic Church, which has always unchangeably taught and practised these things; secondly, a testimony against the Anglican Reformation, which has always rejected and cast them out. I joyfully recognise the zeal and piety of those (excepting, I fear, a few) who promote them. I believe for the most part they are sincere, and that multitudes are in an ignorance which is invincible. I can say with the Apostle: 'Some, indeed, even out of envy and contention; but some also for good-will preach Christ: some out of charity, . . . and some out of contention preach Christ, not sincerely. . . . But what then? So that every way, whether by occasion or by truth, Christ be preached, in this also I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.'[1]

I do not include in this, as I have already said, those—few in number, I believe—who use these things as a stumbling-block to keep back souls from the truth, and imitate the Catholic Church with a formal servility, that they may pass themselves off as Catholics even to our Catholic poor. For such men we can have no sympathy and little hope. Every parish priest happily knows how empty and foolish is the boast they make of keeping souls from conversion. The public facts of every day refute it. They may keep back the handful who surround them, and hide the truth from their own hearts; but the steady current of return to the

[1] Phil. i. 15-18.

Catholic and Roman Church throughout the whole of England is no more to be affected by them than the rising of the tide by the palms of their hands. Against their will, certainly, and perhaps without their knowledge, they are sending on numberless souls into the truth, which they probably will never enter. But the number of those whose good faith is doubtful is not great. The multitude of those who are drawn by a natural and simple reverence to clothe what they sincerely believe with a becoming ritual, and who worship piously and humbly in churches which might almost be mistaken for ours—if it were not for the one great blank, the absence of life, which is like a beautiful countenance without sight—is very great, and is perhaps continually increasing. They are coming up to the very threshold of the Church. They have learned to lean upon it as the centre of Christendom, from which they sprang, and upon which their own Church is supposed to rest. They use our devotions, our books, our pictures of piety; they are taught to believe the whole Catholic doctrine, and to receive the whole Council of Trent, not indeed in its own true meaning, but in a meaning invented by their teachers. This cannot last long. Such teachers are, as Fuller quaintly and truly says, like unskilful horsemen. They so open gates as to shut themselves out in letting others through.

Now no one can have watched this wonderful movement, especially if he has ever been borne along by it himself, without a profound sympathy, and a desire to cherish and to direct it with tenderness and fidelity.

He will not indeed sympathise with it as a superficial imitation of the profound and internal adoration of the Church of God, still less as a means of supplanting the Church, and deceiving the people to their hurt. All this is intrinsically evil. But dismissing this very restricted abuse, the movement as a whole can be regarded no otherwise than as an impulse of the Spirit of God, preparing the hearts of men beforehand for the advance of His Church.

And now, what attitude ought we to assume towards this aspect of the religion of England?

First, that of hope and kindness: of hope, that it may lead on to better things; and of kindness, lest we should throw back those who are moving upwards and onwards painfully and doubtfully towards a perfect knowledge of the truth. It seems to me that souls are in more peril now than thirty, or twenty, or even ten years ago. They were then in a state of which we might presume that their ignorance was invincible. The great masses of the English people were either physically or morally unable to find the true faith and the true Church. The same may be said still of the poor, of children, and of those who, being under a domestic control and seclusion, are unable to obtain books or teachers, or in any way to come in contact with the truth. But such is no longer the case of the educated who have none to control them. No physical or moral impossibility keeps them from the truth. They are in contact with the Church, with its priests, with its writings. They oppose it face to face, and therefore can plead no ignorance which is not in itself vincible.

The rise and expansion of the Church, the restoration of the Hierarchy, old friendships with those who have submitted to the Church, the conversion of kinsmen, even of children, and of brothers and sisters,—all these things bring the Church home to their dwellings, to their every-day life, and to their conscience. Every year the doctrine of invincible ignorance has a narrower application to the people of England; and for that reason we have need to be all the more patient, tender, and considerate. Thousands around us are in a crisis of life and death. If anything on our part ruffle or disturb the calmness of heart on which candour depends, we should have much to answer for. Sarcasm and ridicule are dangerous tools; they may make us feared, and win a literary name, but they do not draw souls to the truth. Jesus and His disciples never used these weapons. Let the use of them, together with all personalities, be with your adversaries. They are like the Carthaginian elephants, fatal to the ranks of those who use them. And in this I think a great advance has been made—the controversies of the day are direct and hand to hand; but they are less personal and more courteous. Here and there an exception, sadly conspicuous, may be seen—there must be a Thersites in every camp—but these exceptions would not be so conspicuous if they did not stand almost alone. Our office is to help, to uphold, to fill up and to perfect the fragmentary faith of those who are out of the truth; and that is not to be done by a *theologia destructiva*, by controversial or polemical theology, but by a calm, a charitable exposition of the perfect

truth which tells by its own light, and is its own evidence to sincere and humble minds.

2. But of this charity one high part is to be precise and clear in the full enunciation of Catholic truth. There can be no more pernicious mistake than the theory that truth is to be spread by fusion or accommodation. Truth only needs to be stated; but it demands to be stated in full. Anything less than its full outline is a suppression of truth, and *suppressio veri* is *suggestio falsi*. We have, moreover, the guidance of a Pontiff who has gone before us in every controversy of the day. What is there in respect to the sanctity, the dignity, or the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the temporal power of the Holy See, his own prerogatives as teacher of the faithful, the relation of faith to science and to society, which Pius IX. has not gone before and beyond us in asserting? Has any one enunciated on any of these topics anything which Pius IX. has not first declared? The most ultramontane assertions among us fall within the range, and therefore under the shelter, of authoritative documents emanating from the Holy See. It is remarkable that such critics as the *Times* newspaper and *Blackwood's Magazine* clearly perceive the identity of what is denounced as ultramontanism and the teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff. The attempt to distinguish between the declarations of the Holy See and the mind of the Church is the animus of heresy. If England is ever to be reunited to Christendom it is by submission to the living authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The first tep of its return must be obedience to his voice, as

rebellion against his authority was the first step of its departure. In dealing with souls the same is the only sure and solid method. We have had for a twelvemonth before us a saddening example of vacillations, of alternate acceptance and rejection of the Council of Trent. At one time, Trent as the basis of unity; at another, not all its decrees, but Trent less the indissoluble unity of the Church, and the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Then Trent with interpretations; that is, explanations which explain it away: anything but childlike submission. All our anxious and charitable hope is that the author of these private fancies may find them to be illusions in the noonday light of the infallible Church of God. But we cannot fail to note with fear the eccentric movements of the private spirit which is carrying him, and those who hang upon him, visibly back again into the old anti-Catholic attitude and spirit. To believe the whole Council of Trent with interpretations and glosses of private judgment will not bring a soul into the Catholic unity.

Now I have made these remarks as a ground for the assertion with which I shall conclude. The return to faith which we have traced from the middle of the last century—that is, for now about a hundred years—steadily ascending, doctrine after doctrine, first within the Anglican Establishment, then reaching beyond it into the regions of antiquity and of Catholic truth, has now received its complement in the full re-entrance of the Catholic Church, and the authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It is no longer a question of fragmentary doctrines or isolated truths, of a little more or

a little less of this devotion or that opinion, but of the whole Catholic faith upon the principle of Divine certainty and of Divine authority through the Church and in its head. And it is visibly providential that at this moment the supremacy of the Crown, which is the Reformation *in concreto*, has literally come to nought. From the beginning, Ireland would never submit to it. Scotland rejected it. In half a century after its usurpation England began to cast it off. Half the people of England formally reject it at this day. Of the other half the great majority know nothing of it; of the remaining minority the most enlightened only tolerate it as an obsolete law, explain it away, limit it on every side, write against it, speak evil of it, or reject it altogether. Still worse than this, its own lawyers curtail its pretensions; and worst of all, it has lately pronounced its own acts to be invalid in a large field of its supposed jurisdiction—that is, it has died by *felo de se*. The providence of God has poured shame and confusion on the Tudor statutes. The royal supremacy has perished by the law of mortality which consumes all earthly things. And at this period of our history the supremacy of the Vicar of Jesus Christ re-enters as full of life as when Henry VIII. resisted Clement VII., and Elizabeth withstood S. Pius V. The undying authority of the Holy See is once more an active power in England; the shadow of Peter has fallen again upon it. The people of England are as conscious—nay, more conscious—of the presence of the Catholic Church among them than of the Anglican Establishment. The ast thirty years have wrought a change of which

human agencies can give no adequate cause. The expansion of the Church and the penetrating spread of the faith in the last fifteen years has been in geometrical progression. What the next thirty years may bring forth if the same forces and the same velocities continue to multiply, no one can venture to foretell. But one thing is evident. 'Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum;' the Son of God has been again building His temple, and we shall best complete His work by following the order of His own procedure; and we shall best learn the plans of the Master-builder from the declarations of His Vicar upon earth.

# VIII.

# FRENCH INFIDELITY.

# FRENCH INFIDELITY.

READ BEFORE THE ACADEMIA, MAY 19, 1867.

THE close contact, during a peace of half a century, between England and France has established in the two countries a continuity of sympathy, intelligence, and language; and this fact by itself is enough to make it our duty to observe with vigilance the intellectual tendencies of French literature. For good or for evil it must powerfully affect our educated classes; and the rise of certain intellectual maladies in France may he taken as premonitory symptoms of evils which will in the end attack ourselves. More than twenty years ago Neander, in his sketch of the late Dr. Arnold's life, described him as the herald of the critical treatment of Holy Scripture, which had already swept over Germany, and would sooner or later pass over England. We see this prophecy fulfilling in our days. In like manner it is certain that the intellectual aberrations described in this work will sooner or later arise among ourselves. Indeed, we shall presently see that they are already silently, at least in sporadic cases, working in the midst of us.

The Bishop of Orleans, in his work entitled *L'Athéisme et le Péril Social*, has abundantly and powerfully justified his assertion that the peril of France at this time is Atheism. He does not by this intend that the French people are Atheists, or that the Christianity and faith of France is not vigorous and dominant, but that there exists in France a school of writers able, cultivated, restless, and incessant in their endeavours to drive the idea of God out of the reason, conscience, science, morals, of society; that their anti-Christian conspiracy against God and the Christian order of the world is organised, extensive, and extending; that it commands a large number of public organs and controls a large proportion of the press; that its effects are appreciable upon the educated classes; and that its influences readily descend among the people. The Bishop affirms that during the last ten years many journals which defended religion in France have been suppressed, and very many authorised, of which, with rare exceptions, almost all are (*hautement antichrétiens*) openly anti-Christian. He names especially the *Siècle*, the *Débats*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *Opinion Nationale*, the *Avenir National*, the *Temps*, the *Indépendance Belge*, as propagating without scruple Atheism, Materialism, Pantheism, and anti-Christianism.[1] He adds that, besides these, there are journals expressly founded as organs of Atheism, such as the *Revue Germanique*, the *Morale Indépendante*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Libre Conscience*, the *Alliance Religieuse Universelle*, the *Libre Pensée*, and the *Revue*

[1] p. 98.

*du Progrès*.[2] He adds that an official report of the Minister of the Interior in 1852 showed that of nine millions of books sold in the towns and villages of France eight millions were immoral.

To any one who desires to appreciate the character of this school I would earnestly recommend Père Gratry's work, *Les Sophistes et la Critique*, which, for intellectual power and transparent clearness, is a very attractive book. He says: 'There is at this time in Europe a society of minds which, if they are not unmasked and subdued by public attention, are leading us back into barbarism. In this second half of the nineteenth century, we have before our eyes in France a psychological phenomenon very rare and very new. It is the existence of an intellectual monstrosity which appears for the second time in the history of the human intelligence.'[3] 'I affirm, then, that there exists at this day in France a school of writers who merit the name of Sophists, because they deny the first axioms of the reason—a very strange event in our age; for since Aristotle and Plato, who destroyed the Sophists of Greece, there has never been in the Greek or Roman world another attempt to revive the Sophists.' He further adds: 'We have before our eyes a sect of Atheists and Sophists. Such is the fact. I desire to mark the fact: I am bound to say, a sect of Atheists and Sophists. . . . The Sophists are those who do not admit, either in speculation or in practice, the fundamental and necessary axiom of the reason, namely, that it is impossible to affirm and to

[2] p. 99. [3] *Les Sophistes*, &c. pp. 10, 11.

deny the same thing at the same time, in the same sense, and under the same relations. This axiom is evidence in itself. The contrary is the proper formula of absurdity.'[4] The following is the application of this philosophy: 'Everything reveals, affirms, and demonstrates God; a straw as well as the world.' 'But if God be only an idea, the existence of God hangs on the existence of a thinking being. Suppress humanity, God exists no longer. . . . Why deny it? You see clearly enough now in these questions to be no longer dupes of words.'[5]

Such is the school which the Bishop of Orleans has exposed with copious evidence to a just reprobation. I shall not, therefore, attempt to reproduce the matter of the Bishop's pages except to give a brief outline of the tenets of this sect, so as to identify the existence of the same forms of error already appearing among ourselves. He distinguishes the atheistic school into three kinds—Positivism, Pantheism, and Materialism. And of each the following are samples:

Positivism rejects as unphilosophical and false all theology, including God and the soul as superstitions; and all metaphysics, such as law, cause, effect, &c., as imaginations; confining science to facts and phenomena, or, in other words, to the sphere of sense.

Comte, the founder of this intellectual monstrosity, declared in 1851, 'in the name of the past and of the future, all those who believe in God to be irrevocably excluded from the direction of affairs, as being behindhand and hinderers, whether Catholics, Protestants, and

[4] *Les Sophistes*, &c. pp. 17-41. [5] Ibid. p. 83.

Deists.' As to the God of the past, he says 'that He has rendered provisional services. But there is an end of it. Humanity takes the place of God.' 'Humanity alone must compensate for the impotence of God.' 'The idea of God has become in these days anarchical and retrograde.' But M. Comte held that man could not live without a religion, nor a religion exist without a worship, nor a worship without an object. But as there was an end of the 'God of the past,' the first step was to create the Divinity. And that Divinity could be no other than the 'Great Being' who has taken the place of God, namely, Humanity. Not indeed this or that particular man, nor mankind as it exists now in this mortal state, nor as it will exist in immortality, because, as there is no God, so there is no soul; but 'the Great Being is the assemblage of beings, past, present, and future;'[6] and yet not all such enter into the composition of the 'Grand Etre,' but only those who freely co-operate towards the perfection of the 'Universal Being.' Such are the 'Etres convergents,' the convergent beings; and Positivism defines humanity 'the continuous assemblage of convergent beings.' Such is the object of worship, for which he proposed to set apart the Church of S. Geneviève; that is, as he says, to 'consecrate the Pantheon to its true destination.' He proceeds to re-christen the months of the year and the days of the week, and to frame a calendar of feasts in which all states of humanity should be worshipped, with one omission—unmarried women, who have deserved well of humanity, to whom, as an after-thought, he assigns

[6] *Catechism of Positive Religion*, pp. 63-74.

the odd day in Leap Year. There are in the Positive religion ten sacraments, of which one is retirement from public life, to be administered and received at the age of sixty. A worshipper of this religion wrote to the French newspapers, dating by the calendar, Paris, 17 Shakespeare 78; that is, to us who are lying in darkness, September 24, 1866. In that letter he describes the spread of Positivism in France, America, and England. Of the last fact we have proof in a sermon published some four or five years ago in London, and dated 17 Moses 72; that is, as I learn, our January seventy-two years after the great world-epoch of the advent of M. Comte among men. It is hard to say whether folly or impiety predominate in this delirium.

As for Pantheism, the following samples will suffice: 'God, Providence, soul, immortality,—good old words; a little heavy perhaps, which Philosophy will interpret in senses more and more refined.'[7]

'For my part, I do not think that there is in the universe an intelligence superior to that of man.' 'On a certain day, in virtue of natural laws which had before presided over the development of things, without intervention from without, the thinking being appeared.' 'This strange phenomenon, in virtue of which an animal species (that is man) assumed a decisive superiority over the others.' By a *coup d'état*, we must suppose. 'Absolute perfection, to treat things in rigour, would be non-existence.' 'The infinite exists only where it puts on a finite form.' 'Absolute justice and reason re-

[7] M. Renan's *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 419. *Péril Social*, p. 75.

garded out of humanity is an abstraction; regarded in humanity is a reality.' When humanity has become perfect, '*Dieu sera complet*,'—'God will be completed.' This is the M. Renan whose *Life of Jesus* competes in editions with Voltaire, and is read by unsuspecting simple hearts in England.

Lastly, as to Materialism: a few samples will complete their *Summa Theologica impietatis*.

The first proposition we meet with is, 'There is nothing real but the body.' God and the soul are 'metaphysical entities, bubbles of soap.' 'We may well be the fruit of successive modifications, wrought upon ancestors far less perfect than we are, and even next in order to great apes.' Investigations are *en chasse* 'to find' the man-ape, 'the animal which according to them must have been the transition between apes and man.' 'God, banished from science, took refuge in metaphysics. . . The idea of God is already well shaken. We must still give it the last blow.' 'The name soul must be reserved for the assemblage of faculties of the central nervous system taken as a whole.' 'Thought is inherent in the substance of the brain only as it is nourished, like the contractile power of the muscles, &c.' 'An idea is the product of a combination analogous to formic acid; thought depends on the phosphorus contained in the substance of the brain; virtue, devotedness, and courage are organic currents of electricity.' 'Virtue and vice are products, like sugar and vitriol.' Perhaps this is enough. And yet it may be well to give a *résumé* in the words of a M. Moleschott, who appears for the regeneration of Italy to have been

honoured with a professor's chair at Turin. He says, with a gravity worthy of Molière's doctor of physic, 'The will is the necessary expression of a state of the brain produced by external influences. There is no such thing as a free will. A crime is the logical result, direct and inevitable, of the passion which animates us. Without phosphorus, no thought,—*Sans phosphore point de pensée*. . . . Thought is a movement of matter.' 'Conscience is also a property of matter.' It is, I imagine, of this M. Moleschott and his impieties that an author in Turin wrote as follows: 'Si preconizza dalle Cattedre . . . l' uomo bestia, la Materia Dio, il fato-providenza, il fosforo-pensiero, l' autorita chimera, la fede impostura.' One more passage must suffice. M. Renan says, 'No limit can be traced for the mind of man. . . . Nothing is above the reach of man.' He thinks that some day there will be found 'a predestined chemist who will transform all things; an omniscient biologist who will finally make himself master of life itself.' 'Who knows,' he says, 'in a word, whether infinite science will not bring with it infinite power?' 'We may affirm that the final resurrection will be accomplished by science.' What wonder that to M. Renan our Divine Lord should appear as 'an interesting enthusiast'?

The Bishop of Orleans then gives an outline of the activity and organisation of the sect. It already has the 'Sociétés des Affranchis et des Solidaires;' and still more recently an international society has been founded in Germany, the members of which bind themselves to receive no sacrament of any religion, neither baptism

nor marriage, nor at the hour of death; and to give directions to others to hinder their families from giving them Christian burial.

Such may be called the dogmatic theology of this school. Now for the moral. It is called *la morale indépendante;* that is to say, 'morality has no existence but in humanity.' It does not come from God; for there is no God. It is not the law of His will, nor the transcript of His perfection. We have seen already that 'conscience is a movement of matter.' 'Virtue and vice are products, like sugar and vitriol.' If so, it is hardly worth while to say that Christian morality is 'arbitrary, because it has not been freely sanctioned by man, which sanction is necessary in order to bind man towards God;' and that 'it is impossible that God should judge and punish a creature who has not sanctioned the altogether arbitrary law which God has been pleased to impose upon him.' I will not stain these pages by transferring to them the immoralities of this literature. It is more than enough to read them for once in the eloquent and indignant context of Mgr. Dupanloup. The immediate bearing of all this upon the personal morality of individuals and the collective morals of society is self-evident. 'We are engaged,' say these guides of men, 'on the subject of morality; that is, the restoration of the flesh to its estate in a moral point of view.' It is healthy and consoling after all to read such words as the following passage, dictated by the unerring instinct of anti-Christian libertinage and enmity against the morality of the Christian Church: 'Take care, Messieurs les Cléricaux; . . . we shall know how, if need

be, to confound you; we shall be able, if the slow work of science is not enough, to inscribe upon our standards, and to put in execution, the great idea of the last century, "Ecrasons l'infâme."'

Such is the first part of Monseigneur Dupanloup's work. The second, on the social peril, is an application of the first. He says truly, 'Free thought brings free morality; will not free morality bring free practice and revolution? To this there is no limit but law and society.' But it is especially this which is now being sapped and corrupted at its base by the propagation of these anti-Christian and anti-social impieties. M. Renan says, 'The future of humanity is entirely a question of doctrine. Philosophy alone can solve it. The really efficacious revolution which will give form to the future will be a revolution in religion and morals. The work is passing more and more into the hands of men of thought.' 'In politics, as in philosophy, the younger school of Hegel professed the most radical doctrines. The year 1848 came, and the extreme left of the Hegelians became the extreme left of the revolution—Atheism and Socialism joined hands.' And this revolution is not that of the people, but of the 'thinkers.' Even universal suffrage is to be put aside as *suspect*. France is the field of predilection; but France is not to be polled, but only Paris. And Paris has already once before terrified and deluged France with blood under the sway of a handful of 'thinkers,' varying in age from twenty-two to thirty-five years—Sophists and Atheists—men of the independent morality, of vitriol, sugar, and blood. And

to this the people of France are invited once more, 'through transformations still more radical than those of '89.' 'Socialism is the religion of the disinherited classes.' But into this part of the subject I will not now enter. I would only commend to the careful attention of the reader the chapter in which the Bishop sketches the preludes and the course of the first French revolution; the facility with which these materialist and atheistic doctrines may become popular, and their direct tendency to become political. Any one who has watched the state of this country in the last five years, and the close international organisation which is growing up between certain classes which, both in England and on the Continent, are most exposed to the action of social and political discontent, will find reason to reflect with anxiety upon the future of our own country. But into this it is impossible now to enter. I will however, before I conclude, add a few words on the symptoms which have already appeared among us of the same intellectual aberrations.

During the last ten or fifteen years the doctrines of M. Comte have attracted the attention of a small number of our English metaphysicians. But he had hardly so much as one thorough disciple among us—certainly not a school. Several writers, such as Mr. Lewis and Mr. Mill, have treated of Positivism; but neither appear to adopt it as a whole. Nevertheless the tendency of both metaphysics and science in England is to eliminate the supernatural and to limit the basis of philosophy to the span of sense and of experiment. We have some Positivism among us, little or

no Pantheism, but abundance of Materialism. The English mind is positive by nature, not indeed scientifically, but by its immersion in material interests and material production. We are so practically material that scientific materialism makes little way with us. The Germans are speculative, the French logical, the English as a people are neither. We are thoroughly traditional and insular, and we hold out obstinately against all invasions whether of armies or of philosophies. Nevertheless ideas penetrate subtilely; and one by one, an idea deposited in the mind of a people is like a seed wafted by the wind or dropped by a bird. It will spring up and reproduce itself. For this reason we have need to watch carefully over a part of our national education, which perhaps more than any other is left without direction, that is, mental philosophy. Christendom has a tradition of philosophy as well as of Faith; and in that tradition truth, both natural and supernatural, is combined in perfect unity, symmetry, and harmony. Philosophy and theology are the upper and the nether springs of truth. Philosophy may be called the theology of reason; theology the philosophy of revelation. They belong respectively to the natural and supernatural worlds, and they belong also to each other as integral parts of one perfect whole. In the confusion of these later centuries they have been divorced from each other, and set in opposition to each other. Philosophy has taken up an attitude of defiance to theology; and theology, in condemning a false philosophy, has been thought to be unphilosophical. The existence of God, the spirituality of the

soul, the laws of morals, are truths of philosophy; and yet modern philosophy has confounded them with theology, and rejected them with disdain. Materialism and independent morality are the direct product of that rejection. Again, philosophy teaches that the nature of man is composed of soul and body, reason and sense; and that in the knowledge and discovery of truth the whole nature, with its faculties and sensations, discovers by a single intelligent activity. Modern philosophy has disintegrated the nature of man, and placed the criterion of truth either in the reason generally or in the sense, from which have come two distinct philosophies, both false because both partial—the rationalism which in Germany has generated Pantheism, and the sensuous which in England and Scotland has generated not complete Materialism, but a philosophy which is sense-bound and mutilated as to the higher truths of the intellectual order. The propositions—that the existence of God cannot be proved by reason; that God is not an object of knowledge; that morality in us is diverse from the moral perfection of God; that our knowledge of things is not proper but relative and arbitrary; that the will is not free, and the like—are intellectual aberrations from which the traditional philosophy of the Christian Church and of the Christian world would have preserved us.

But these questions are too speculative to become popular, and among us are confined to so small a class of literary men that their action on society is both limited and superficial. It would seem as if the atmosphere of England were unfavourable to the growth

of abstractions, whether false or true. A remarkable instance of this is the sudden popularity and as sudden oblivion of a book which represents more systematically perhaps than any other in a popular form, some of the worst errors of the positive and material philosophy, Buckle's *History of Civilisation*. The author is no longer among us, and I am informed by his friends that he was of an estimable nature. I would not wound his memory, but I cannot spare the book. If I rightly understand it, the theory on which it is based is as follows: The actions of men are determined by the motives which prompt them. If we knew the motives we could predict the actions of any individual. Society is made up of individuals. If we knew the motives of each individual, we could predict the collective action of society. Statistics prove the same. We find every year so many suicides in such a population; and of suicides, so many by drowning, so many by laying violent hands on themselves. Again, the number of letters put into the post without direction, bears a proportion to the population; and so on in various examples. From this he infers that the laws or motives which govern individuals are fixed and proportionate, and that society has a fixed and predetermined course or evolution. The writer adds, with much simplicity, that he knows of only two objections to this theory—the one, Divine Providence; the other, the freedom of the human will. The idea of Providence he dismisses as a superstition of the infant state of man. The savage goes out to the hunting fields, one day he finds game, another day he finds none. Chance becomes Providence, and

Providence the benign action of a Divine Being. The freedom of the will is a 'sensation' having no higher basis than our consciousness. But what higher certainty there can be for the ultimate facts of the human mind, or what greater evidence can be found for our personal identity, he does not tell us. This dreary, mechanical, and superficial philosophy of society is but Positivism applied to Sociology. It fell dead; and the book has disappeared.

Thus far our social peril would not seem to be from speculative Positivism, Pantheism, or Materialism. Nevertheless we are perhaps practically the most material of nations, and the influence of the supernatural over the society of England is becoming feebler year by year. The only safety for our country is in those old words, which may be a little heavy perhaps, 'but living and powerful'—God, the soul, and immortality. These are the salt of the earth. Whosoever shall reinvigorate and extend their influence over the minds and wills of our people will do the highest work of a Christian and of a citizen, and promote not only the stability of our social order, but the eternal welfare of mankind. We are in a century of revolutions. The principles of 1789 have pervaded Europe, and have laid the seed of revolution in every country. The year 1848 exhibited a revolution in every capital of Europe, hardly subdued in some, dominant in others. In the last eighteen years these local revolutions have become confluent, and the revolution now is not many but one. In the future the social peril of one country will be the social peril of all; and we, though the last to yield to

the contagion, will, unless God in His mercy avert it, be involved in the movements which are visibly converging on the Continent to a vast and wide-spread conflict of Socialism against the Christian order of the world.

# IX.

# IRELAND.

# IRELAND.

## A Letter to Earl Grey, 1868.

My Lord,—The justice with which you, as a Peer of Parliament, have always spoken of Ireland and of the Catholic Church gives me confidence that you will bear with me if I express my mind upon these subjects. I venture to address myself to you because your Lordship has long stood aloof from the two great parties in the State; and in what I write I desire to hold myself neutral between opposing sides. I make an appeal for justice, not to one side or the other, but to both. I have refrained from asking your Lordship's permission to inscribe your name upon this letter because I wish you to be absolutely free from all responsibility as to any opinions I may express, and as to the prudence of my expressing them. That responsibility lies wholly on myself; and I have not hesitated to make this public declaration of my convictions because it is evident that upon the future of Ireland hangs the future of the British Empire; and even the least may ask to be heard.

Let me anticipate a criticism by saying that I do not recognise any incompatibility between the sacred office I bear and the public treatment of these topics.

It is not our belief that ecclesiastics cease to be citizens, or that anything affecting the common weal of our country is remote from our duty. This alone would suffice for my justification; but I may offer also other pleas for speaking publicly on subjects affecting Ireland. As an Englishman, I can speak to Englishmen without suspicion of a national bias; or, rather, with the national bias on the side of England. I may at least claim to be impartial. Again, the duties of many years and the work of every day have brought me into such direct and intimate contact with Ireland and the Irish people, that I cannot be mistaken as to the gravity of the present crisis. I do not believe that it can be overrated. It is the disposition to underrate it, and the readiness to relapse into an untimely reassurance at every momentary lull of public anxiety, which fill me with most fear. It is true that we have had times of greater violence and of more immediate dangers than now threaten us; more fearful atrocities, both against the law and by the law, have been perpetrated, of which your Lordship has full memory; but there never yet was a moment in which such widespread and irresistible powers of change were in action upon the union of Great Britain and Ireland. It is enough to refer to the international organisations which unite Ireland with the continent of Europe, and to the intimate and vital bond which links Ireland with America. This is of a graver, deeper, mightier, and more permanent character than the risings of 1798 or of 1803. It is gradually assimilating and changing an integral part of the United Kingdom into a type which

will hardly combine with ours, or consolidate the unity of these realms.

And now, my Lord, the subjects on which I will take the liberty to speak are, in my belief, still within the power of Parliament to control. But the power of controlling them is becoming less and less as they are continually postponed. They may all be summed up in two general heads, Religious Equality and an equitable Land-law.

There is, however, one preliminary step to the pacification of Ireland—so easy in itself that we shall be gravely responsible if we do not at once take it—namely, that we in England should govern ourselves when we speak of Ireland, as we should expect Irishmen to govern themselves when they speak of us. Nay, I will further say that the memory of the last three hundred years ought to make us all the more watchful, as those three centuries of suffering have made them all the more sensitive. I do not think Englishmen are enough aware of the harm some among us do by a contemptuous, satirical, disrespectful, defiant language in speaking of Ireland and the Irish people. A manly, generous, respectful tone would soon dispose many wounds to heal which are now kept open and fester rankly.

Your Lordship's treatment of these subjects has always been distinguished by a respectful and sympathetic manner towards Ireland; but I have been at a loss to conceive what certain of our public writers could hope to effect by the cynical sarcastic disdain with which they treat that noble-hearted people. One

of the most recent and melancholy examples of this, which I must call a public crime, may be found in the last article of the January number of the *Quarterly Review*. In that article, a writer of no ordinary abilities has exhibited, I hope as a warning to us all, how bitter, narrow, and unjust the spirit of party can make even a powerful mind. I call this a public crime because it does more to create bad blood between the two countries than even graver wrongs. The grievances of a people may produce discontent, but a tone of imperial contempt goads high-spirited men to madness.

What is to be thought of an author's fairness who can deliberately write as follows?[1]—'As regards the Irish Church, for instance, a large majority of the representatives of Ireland are in favour of retaining it; and yet its destruction is constantly put forward as the means of appeasing Irish discontent.'

Does this 'large majority' of Protestant members, returned by Protestant influence, represent the views of the Irish Catholic people as to the advantages of maintaining a Protestant Establishment over their heads? If so, how is it that the remaining thirty Irish, but Catholic, members are, to a man, against it? Does Ireland speak by the majority or by the minority? The majority of the Irish members represent the minority of the Irish people. Lord Aberdeen's 'conundrum' is here proposed in a still more paradoxical form. So long as the majority of the Irish members are in favour of maintaining the Protestant

[1] p. 262.

Establishment, the majority of the Irish people are not represented. Is not this enough to explain and to justify popular discontent?

Again.[2] 'So long as any considerable body of Irishmen seize greedily on every opportunity of parading their undying irreconcilable hostility to the English connection, so long as we are to be opposed and thwarted—not because we are wrong, not because we are tyrannical, not because we are unjust, but because we are Englishmen—we must, on the simplest and plainest principles of self-defence, endeavour to satisfy and retain on our side that portion of the community that is friendly to British connection.'

Why should Englishmen be thwarted in Ireland, and why should English rule be thought 'wrong,' 'tyrannical,' 'unjust'? This is the very evil to be removed. It is both easy and politic for the wrongdoer to proclaim oblivion of the past; but the sufferer of wrong can hardly be expected to be so pliant and forgetful. To our own hurt, we have made the English name hateful in the past, and we must bear the penalty till we have repaired the wrong: 'Delicta majorum immeritus lues.' But is it not a reiteration of hard-hearted and hard-faced wrong to affect the manner of an innocent and injured party? Such a tone makes us partakers in the guilt of the past. To deny the justice of the prejudice attaching to us is to deny the injustice of the acts which caused it. We thereby justify the animosity of which we complain.

Again. 'Whatsoever be the merits of land-reform

[2] p. 264.

or of church-destruction, they have nothing to do with Fenianism.' Has Fenianism any other cause than animosity against England? Has that animosity nothing to do with the three confiscations of almost every acre of land in Ireland, and the folly of striving for three hundred years to force Protestantism on a Catholic people?

Once more. 'It has been the pleasure of Ireland to pass upon herself a sentence of perpetual poverty.' Did Ireland suicidally strip itself of all its lands, reduce itself to mud-cabins, potato-diet, and evictions, fever, and famine? Would this have been the state of Ireland if it had been left to mature its own social order and civilisation as England, Scotland, France, and Spain? Who checked its agriculture, its cattle-trade, its fisheries, and its manufactures by Acts of Parliament? If poverty was ever inflicted by one nation on another, it has been inflicted on Ireland by England.

One more example. 'As for laws and administration, Ireland is on the same footing with England; and where there is a difference, Ireland will be found to be better cared for than England.' Let the endowments of the Church of England be transferred to the English Catholic Bishops and clergy; let the Anglican Archbishops and Bishops be liable to fine for assuming their ecclesiastical titles; let the land in England be held by absentee Irish landlords by title of past confiscations, and let their soil be tilled by tenants at will, who may at any hour be evicted, and I shall then think that Ireland and England are on the same footing.

There is yet one thing wanting. Let some Irish statesman reproach the English for their unreasoning and unrelenting animosity, their self-chosen poverty, their insensibility of the dignity and benefits of being thus treated by a superior race. But, my Lord, enough of this, which can have no other effect than to heat, blind, and distort the minds of men on both sides, and to come, like Erinnys, between the contending hosts, to drive them to madness and mutual destruction.

There is, however, one last point in which, as the writer condescends to reason, I will ask leave to meet him in detail.

We are told that Ireland has one, and one only, grievance—not that its lands were confiscated; not that the heirs of old estates are now day-labourers upon them; not that its people have died by hundreds and by thousands, or have been driven away by millions; not that its sacred revenues, its old parish churches, its cathedrals, dear for the memory of its saints and forefathers, have been taken away: all these things are as nothing. But there is one great grievance. The Irish people have to pay for their own religion. We have here the measure of this writer's breadth. Such is the knowledge, discernment, experience, compass, and trustworthiness of the guide who professes to teach the Imperial Parliament its duties towards Ireland, and Ireland its true condition.

Bear with me, my Lord, while I draw out to the full this new portentous wrong. To pay our own clergy is a grievance not to be found, I suppose, in England or Scotland. Why, half the people of England

are Dissenters, and half the people of Scotland are Free-Kirk men. They all alike pay their own ministers. But, then, nobody wishes to detach them from their flocks, or their flocks from them; or to buy their influence, or to destroy it, as of men that have been bought. We are further told: 'No position can be more cruel or painful than that of a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland really anxious to do his duty to his flock as a good pastor and to the State as a good citizen. He must live on their contributions; they love him because they benefit him, and he must be no little of "a demagogue." He dare not appear loyal.' 'He is of the people,' and not only leads, 'but is led by sympathy, by the desire of popularity, and, it must be admitted, by pecuniary interest.' 'Few men can come out of such an ordeal without some loss of self-respect,' 'some compliances,' 'some "economies" of truth which they cannot look back upon without regret, and perhaps shame.' 'When we reflect on the vast power possessed by the priest,' 'we cannot sufficiently regret that the Government' 'has not drawn' them '*within the circle of its legitimate influence.*' 'We cannot *afford*' to increase their 'influence by fixing upon the people the duty of maintaining' their clergy 'side by side with the Episcopalian and Protestant Establishments,' &c. In plain English: We must pay them, but we must make the people believe that we do so solely to relieve them of their only grievance. We must get them in hand like the ministers of the Establishment, and so lessen their power over their flocks.

Do you now wonder, my Lord, that the Catholic

clergy spurn the stipends of the English Government, and that the Catholic people of Ireland have a joy and pride in fulfilling the precept of the Apostle in maintaining their pastors? I thank the writer in the *Quarterly*. There is no danger of mistake in this matter.

But even this is not all. As if this professed compassion for the Irish people, oppressed by the grievance of giving gladly to their pastors, were not transparent enough, the writer goes on to add precautions against two dangers, namely, that the priests may refuse to take the Government pay, and that the people may persevere in giving to them. To effect these necessary precautions the writer gives two counsels. The one: 'The salary should be paid into a bank,' and 'made seizable in execution for debt.' The other: 'Care must be taken to make known to the peasantry of Ireland that the State has taken upon itself the maintenance of the Roman Catholic clergy.' This done, 'We think that a priest questing for his support would meet with but little success,' &c. Bear with me, my Lord, if I translate this also into plain English: 'The priests are a greedy lot. They refuse the State money against their will. They are dying for it. All they want is a shadow of excuse. Pay it to their account in the bank. This will be enough for most of them. If any appear to hold out, make it seizable for debt. Let their butchers and bakers seize it. They will have touched the Queen's money, at least in kind. They could not go back if they would; and we know well enough that they would not go back if they could. But

they must affect to be above being paid. Give the men excuse, and they will take it fast enough.' My Lord, the Catholic priesthood of Ireland and of England will not fail to appreciate this exalted estimate of their sincerity, and the refined skill of this plot against their independence. For the other counsel, let all public men be well assured that, when the proclamation is made to the Irish people that the State has endeavoured to buy their pastors, there are no men living who will rise in greater indignation than the peasantry of Ireland. Without 'questing,' every priest in Ireland would find the free-will offerings of his people to be doubled: to let all men know that it is neither by questing nor by constraint, nor by undue influence, spiritual or personal, but for the love of God and of His Church, of their own souls, and of the souls of their children; and, I will be bold enough to add, for the love of their priests—their faithful, warm-hearted, unwearied friends, guardians, and guides in life and in death—that the Catholic people in Ireland, and the Catholic Irish in England, in Canada, in Australia, in the United States, throughout the world, joyfully, gratefully, generously, with filial love, cherish and support their clergy. The love of a Catholic Irishman for his priest is known only to those who have the happiness to labour among them. I can bear witness, and the Catholic clergy of England will bear witness with me, that no questing, or shearing, or spiritual terrorism, would be possible — if we were capable of an offence so base and hateful — and that such coercion is as needless as it would be impossible. There can hardly be found in Great Britain a population

poorer than those who are driven by poverty from Ireland, and in England can hardly find employment except in the lowest forms of industry. Nevertheless, in all parts of England the same spirit of generosity and of piety, in everything which relates to the Church and the clergy, is to be found. The Irish people love both, because they know that no human power and no worldly interest separate their Church and their clergy from themselves. This independence is the pledge that they have a sole and exclusive right in both. To a State-paid Church and clergy the Catholics in England and Ireland would give neither their money nor their hearts.

I cannot but be sorry, my Lord, to read in a late pamphlet a reference to supposed levies and exactions of priests upon their people. Such things here and there may have happened; for what nation is without its evils? but this is no sample of the Irish priesthood. Major O'Reilly, than whom few men better knew Ireland, estimates the outlay on churches, schools, convents, and other charitable institutions in Ireland since 1800 at 5,500,000*l*. Mr. Maguire, in his book on the *Irish in America*, gives examples of the same Christian generosity in our North American colonies, and throughout the United States. The cathedral in the city of St. John's, Newfoundland, was built by them at a cost of 120,000*l*. The same profuse devotion to their faith is to be found wheresoever they are. The grandest cathedrals of these days have been raised by their alms.

But proofs are endless. Only let English statesmen once for all lay aside the illusion that the people of

Ireland give because they are coerced; or that they would accept the relief of a State payment for their clergy; or that their clergy would acknowledge the account to which the counsel of Achitophel has carried the money to insnare them. Both clergy and people would rather hunger and thirst together than dissolve the bond of Christian charity and Christian confidence which binds them indissolubly to each other.

The writer in the *Quarterly* must forgive me if I wrong him, but his quotation from Sydney Smith reveals the source of his inspiration. This scheme of State policy is a plagiarism, but the humour of the original has evaporated. 'The first thing to be done is to pay the priests, and after a little while they will take the money. One man wants to repair his cottage; another wants a buggy; a third cannot shut his eyes to the dilapidation of a cassock. The draft is payable at sight in Dublin, or by agents in the next market-town, dependent upon the commission in Dublin. The housekeeper of the holy man is importunate for money, and if it be not procured by drawing for the salary, it must be extorted by curses and comminations from the ragged worshippers slowly, sorrowfully, and sadly. There will be some opposition at first; but the facility of getting the salary without the violence they are now forced to use, and the difficulties to which they are exposed in procuring the payment of those emoluments to which they are fairly entitled, will in the end overcome all obstacles. And if it do not succeed, what harm is done by the attempt?' 'The Roman Catholic priest could not refuse to draw his salary from the State without incurring the indigna-

tion of his flock. Why are you to come upon us for all this money when you can ride over to Sligo or Belfast and draw a draft upon Government for the amount? It is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to this to a shrewd man who is starving to death.'[3] The Irish people, both clergy and laity, well knew the genial and friendly humour of the Canon of St. Paul's, and laughed heartily at both him and his scheme; but they will read with a very different heart this old joke in the earnest bitterness of the plagiarist.

It is a relief to turn to the words of a statesman who knew Ireland better: 'My inference from the matter is this, that, if the Castle-ascendency could bribe the whole body of the Roman Catholic clergy (a thing not very likely) into a treacherous conduct towards three millions of their laity—that not anything else would result from it than this, that they would never attend on the ministry of one of these corrupt and silly creatures. They would call them the *Castleick* clergy. They would have other priests; and though this might add a little to the confusions of the country and to the public expenses (the great object next to the job to which they have reduced the public interests), they might be sure it would not lessen by one the number of those who contend for justice on the tenor of the good old common law of England, and the principles of the English constitution.'[4]

A very estimable member of the House of Commons

[3] *Works of Sydney Smith*, p. 681 (Longmans, 1850).

[4] Letter of Edmund Burke to his son Richard Burke, June 1792; *Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 15.

said to me the other day, 'The priest in Ireland is our enemy. I wish to have him as my friend.' The priests will be so when we deal justly with their faith and with their people, and cease to treat them as if they could be bought.

Let me now take leave of the Quarterly Reviewer, and his one only grievance amidst the exuberant prosperities of thankless and intractable Ireland.

We ought to respect the sensitiveness kept alive in a noble people by the memory of religious persecutions which England desires to erase from its records, and by natural resentments kindled by repeated and terrible confiscations. I am not now about to recite the wrongs of the past, nor to rekindle the fires which have been, happily, dying down. We shall rejoice to forget the past; but on one condition. Let us hear no more of 'sentimental grievances,' no heartless assertions that Ireland has now nothing to complain of; that the reign of Astræa is supreme in Ireland; that the Irish do not know their own golden prosperity, created by English and Scottish industry, while they will do nothing but saunter and look on with folded arms. Let us have no more of this unjust and dangerous language, and we shall carefully refrain from raking up the embers of history. It needs little stirring to raise a flame. We Englishmen can be cool and calm in this matter, but we must not forget that the accumulated animosity of the past is born in the blood of Irishmen. My surprise is not that they control it so little, but that they control it so much. The social and political inequalities, the religious persecu-

tions, and the cruel confiscations of the past, might be more easily forgotten if they were not still embodied, visibly and grievously before their eyes, in the ascendency of the Protestant Establishment and of a minority. This is the recapitulation and representative of the policy of Elizabeth, James, and Cromwell, still living, powerful, and dominant. I will not, however, revive these bitter topics. We Englishmen ought, indeed, to be calm and to control ourselves. But can we wonder if no Irishman be as cold-blooded as we are? It is this unreasonable, I was about to say this unnatural, mood of mind which renders the language of Englishmen so irritating to Ireland. 'As vinegar upon nitre, so is one that singeth songs to a heavy heart.' Such are the hymns to Irish prosperity in the ears of a population a century behind the national maturity which is their right. Society which springs from the soil, and forms itself by the tillage of the land, training its people to thrift and industry, and unfolding its steady growth in homes, hamlets, villages, towns, and cities,—ripening by centuries of time, and binding all orders and inequalities of rich and poor, master and servant, together in mutual dependence, mutual justice, mutual charity, making even the idle to be thrifty, and the powerful to be compassionate: this growth of human happiness and social order, which in England and Scotland is so symmetrical and mature, in Ireland has been checked at the root. The centuries which have ripened England and Scotland with flower and fruit have swept over Ireland in withering and desolation. We are beginning in the nineteenth century to undo

the miseries of the seventeenth and the eighteenth. But let us not excuse ourselves by alleging the faults of national character. If our Irish brethren have faults, they are, for the most part, what England has made them. Englishmen, with a like treatment, would have been the same.

It would be blindness not to see, and madness to deny, that we have entered into another crisis in the relations of England and Ireland, of which '98, '28, and '48 were precursors. In '98, '28, '48, the revolutionary movements of the Continent powerfully acted upon this country. In 1868 not the Continent only, but America, is in direct and hostile action upon all the elements of disorder, and, what is more dangerous, upon all the causes of just discontent in this country. My Lord, if just discontent were removed, disorder would bring no danger. The public moral sense of the United Kingdom would reduce all disorders to submission, if justice were on our side. I do not deny that for the last fifty years the Legislature of this country has desired to deal justly with Ireland. But I must altogether deny that the Legislature has as yet done its duty by Ireland, or that the causes of just discontent in Ireland have been removed.

So much for the first reason of disunion among us. Let us now go on to the other causes of, what I must persist in calling, just discontent.

So long as there exists upon the statute-book any penal enactment against the Catholic religion; so long as the Catholic people of Ireland are deprived of a *bonâ fide* Catholic education; so long as a Protestant Church

Establishment is maintained by law over the face of Catholic Ireland; and so long as the people of Ireland fail to derive from the land such a subsistence as the labourers and farmers of England and Scotland derive from the soil: there must be a just discontent, which will be the misery of Ireland and the danger of England.

Here, then, are four distinct heads of a discontent which is just. Two of them, as I venture to say, may be removed to-morrow if Parliament have the will to do it; two of them are more complex and difficult, and may require time for eradication. But even these can be removed; and, if the peace and welfare of these kingdoms are to be preserved, they must be removed, and that as speedily as can be.

The two remedies which can at once be applied are these: The first, an Act of Parliament, summed up in one clause, which would recite and repeal all penal enactments against the Catholic Church and religion still lingering in the statutes of these realms. No people can see without resentment the stigma of legal ignominy branded upon their pastors and their faith; no government can command the confidence of those whom it deliberately wounds in that which is dearer than life itself. These penal statutes gall, irritate, outrage the noblest and deepest instincts of pastor and people. And what has the Government of our country gained by such fatal laws? Has it repressed Catholicism? Has it propagated the Reformation? What has it produced but the profound mistrust and resentment in a whole people, which is now one of our chief dangers, because it elevates all other griefs with

the higher character of religious persecution? The day is past for legislation against religious faith: it is two hundred years after date. If Ireland is to be justly pacified, the Church of the people must be placed upon the perfect equality which it enjoys in Canada and Australia. So long as Parliament shall legislate for Catholic Ireland in compliance with the religious prejudices of England and Scotland, Ireland will have a just cause of discontent. Is it consistent with the dignity of the Imperial Parliament to pass laws which the Christian world ignores? We cannot legislate for the Gulf Stream, or change the course of the trade winds, by Act of Parliament. If these statutes were consistent with wisdom when the framers believed that they could be executed, they are no longer wise when time has fought against them and shown them to be powerless.

The other measure of pressing importance to Ireland, which may be passed at once if any Government have the will to do so, is such a modification of the National Education Board as shall make the existing schools *bonâ fide* denominational schools of the Catholic and of the Protestant populations respectively. It is a keen irony to call a system of education National where the religion of the nation may neither be taught nor exhibited in its schools. If the people of Ireland had been consulted at its foundation, it would never have come into existence. If they were polled now, it would not survive a day. It is not a National but a Government education, distasteful to almost the whole population of Ireland, to Catholics and to Protestants alike.

Both would be glad to see it resolved into denominational education. It would promote peace, contentment, and good-will to give over the schools in each place to the majority, be it Catholic or Protestant. The Catholic minority would gladly provide its own Catholic school. The Protestant minority would be easily provided for out of the wealth of the Protestant clergy and landlords.

Let it be borne in mind that the National system in Ireland, though called a mixed one, is to a great extent not so in fact.

1. There are 2454 schools, containing 373,756 Catholic children, with not a Protestant child.

2. There are 2483 schools, having 321,641 Catholic children, with only 24,381 Protestant children.

That is, in 4937 — nearly 5000—schools, with 695,397 Catholic children, there are no more than 24,381 Protestant.

Nevertheless, in these 4937 schools containing 695,397 Catholic children, it is not permitted to teach publicly the Catholic religion, to use Catholic books, or to put up a crucifix. This is no 'sentimental grievance,' but a real and grave interference, which paralyses the Catholic education of the Irish people. And yet they have as good right to their own national education as England or Scotland, and for the same reasons. The National system of England is Anglican, the National system of Scotland is Presbyterian, the National system of Ireland is not Catholic. Why should the National system of Ireland be deprived of its national religion? Even in England, the Catholic Church has

its denominational schools. The Catholic Church in Ireland is deprived of them in deference to a small number of Protestants. The Catholic population in Ireland, as compared with the Protestant, is four to one. In three of the provinces, namely, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, almost eight-tenths of the schools are exclusively Catholic. In the one province of Ulster alone are the schools to any extent mixed; many are exclusively Catholic; and even in Ulster the Catholics outnumber the Protestants. On what principle, then, of common justice can a Catholic denominational education be refused to the Catholic people in Ireland? In England it could not be refused to the Catholics in 1847, because the Protestants of England demanded it for themselves. In Ireland it was refused to the Catholics, and the whole education of Ireland was stripped of its Catholic character for the sake of a minority of Protestants, who were, in 1835, not even one-sixth of the population. And yet this system has not pleased even the Protestants. So strongly marked is the aversion of both Catholics and Protestants for this mixed education that, when they can separate, they do so. In Dublin there are sixty National schools taught by Catholic teachers, containing 24,355 children on the roll. Of these, only six are Protestants, and four are Jews. But in parts of Ireland where there is no such alternative, a still greater grievance arises. It is shown by a parliamentary return, obtained by Major O'Reilly, that in National schools of which Presbyterians have control, thousands of Catholic children are obliged to attend. In these schools they received reli-

gious instruction from Protestant masters, learned Protestant Catechisms, and read the Protestant version of the Bible.

Can we be surprised that the Irish people resent this as an injustice and as a penal enactment? The whole population in Ireland would rejoice in the resolution of the National system into *bonâ fide* denominational schools. The Protestants would be as thankful as the Catholics. What is gained by tying them together in an unwilling alliance, distasteful to Protestants and penal upon Catholics? Surely Government has no need to create new Irish difficulties: nor to keep alive for a day, a grievance which might be taken away by Act of Parliament, as I have said, in one clause.

When the Irish ask for a Parliament in Dublin, they are reminded that it would reduce them from the dignity of an integral part of the mother country to the level of a colony. But England treats its colonies, in education as well as in religious equality, better than it treats Ireland. If the dignity of belonging to the mother country is to be purchased by the grievance of religious inequality, and of education stripped of the national religion, Ireland may be forgiven for asking for the portion of a daughter, and to be treated as a colony. The British Government has chartered and endowed colleges at Sydney and Melbourne, in Australia, and a Catholic University in Canada. But in Ireland the Catholic University has neither charter nor endowment. Three mixed colleges, which I must call by the Christian name Sir Robert Inglis gave them—Godless—

are offered to four millions of Catholics in Ireland; whilst the million of Protestants possess Trinity College, Dublin, endowed with 190,000 acres of land and a revenue of upwards of 30,000*l*. a year. These things the British Government has done for the Catholics of Canada, who are 1,200,000, and for the Catholics of Australia, who are some hundred thousands; but for the Catholic population of 4,500,000 in Ireland, neither charter nor endowment has been given. Is it strange that Ireland is not sufficiently sensible of the benefit of being called a part of the mother country? It is not thus that the mother country treats itself.

I come now to the two other subjects which demand more time for their settlement. They are both, however, within the control of Parliament, and both lie deep in the discontent of Ireland.

The first is the Established Church. It is long since I have heard any man argue for it. The Quarterly Reviewer, indeed, calls it 'the garrison;' and that perhaps is the most and the best, perhaps also the worst, that friend and foe could say of it. England tried for a century to force Episcopacy upon Scotland. It has tried for three to force Protestantism upon Ireland. England had the timely wisdom to leave Scotland to its own religion. Let it have the tardy wisdom to leave Ireland to its faith. It may as well try to change the saltness of the sea as to make the Irish people Protestants. They have multiplied from the remnant of Connaught to a people which outnumbers fourfold their Protestant brethren, and overspreads in its dispersion the colonies of Great Britain and the United

States of America. The dream of conversion is long since dispelled for ever. There does not remain a shadow of reason or of justice for the hostile Church which for three hundred years has overspread the whole Catholic people of Ireland. Nay, more than this: it has become a danger to the Empire, and a reproach to England in the eyes of the whole Christian and civilised world.[5]

The Bishops of Ireland assembled in October last year, and made a noble and a Christian declaration. After affirming that the existence of a State Protestant Church spread all over Catholic Ireland is 'the fountain head of bitterness which poisons the relations of life, and estranges Protestants and Catholics, who ought to be an united people,' the document goes on to say that the Bishops and clergy will never accept endowment at the hands of the State out of the property and revenues once the possession of the Catholic Church, now held by the Protestant Establishment.

I do not pretend to represent those most reverend

[5] Mr. Burke did not consider the Protestant Establishment in Ireland 'a sentimental grievance.' His language in 1792 is happily, to a great extent, inapplicable to these times. But the following words are valuable, as showing that, in his judgment, it was the religious ascendency which produced and perpetuated the miseries of Ireland:

'I can never persuade myself that anything in our Thirty-nine Articles which differs from their Articles is worth making three millions of people slaves, to secure its teaching at the public expense; and I think he must be a strange man, a strange Christian, and a strange Englishman, who would not rather see Ireland a free, flourishing, happy *Catholic* country, though not *one* Protestant existed in it, than an enslaved, beggared, insulted, degraded Catholic country, as it is, with some Protestants here and there scattered through it, for the purpose, not of instructing the people, but of rendering them miserable.'—Letter of March 23, 1792, to Richard Burke jun.; *Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 452.

prelates, but I seem to see the highest and most self-evident reasons for this resolution.

First. It is not difficult to imagine what would be the imputations heaped upon them if they had allowed the State to suppose that, in demanding the disendowment of the Establishment, they were willing to accept its revenues. A storm of popular abuse and of refined contempt would have pursued them as greedy, covetous, and grasping.

Secondly. If the revenues of the Establishment were transferred to the Catholic Church, a cause of deadly and intense heart-burning would at once spring up. The Protestants of Ireland would be excited to a sevenfold greater animosity against their Catholic fellow-subjects. A new and bitter hatred would have heated the furnace sevenfold. In this the Bishops have consulted, not only as Christians, but as statesmen, for the peace of the country, and even for the welfare of their adversaries.

Thirdly. In the last three centuries of its poverty, the Church in Ireland has been once more supplied by the Divine Providence with sufficient revenues. Once it possessed fixed endowments: now it is endowed with the free-will offerings of the people. Burke, in one of his letters, had this in view when he described the Catholic Church in Ireland, some few points excepted, as 'an image of a primitive Catholic Church.'[6] They

[6] 'I very much wish to see, before my death, an image of a primitive Christian Church. With little improvements, I think the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland very capable of exhibiting that state of things. I should not, by force or fraud or rapine, have ever reduced them to their present state. God forbid! But being in it, I conceive

who serve the altar in Ireland live of the altar. The highest exercise of mutual charity is reciprocally manifested by the pastors and their flocks. The old Church property has been desecrated, a new endowment has been found. When an old chalice has been stolen, a new one is consecrated. If the old one were restored, as it has been desecrated, melt it down, and give the silver to the poor. A new one has been provided, the old one is no longer needed. So with the old endowments. They belonged once to God. They have been taken away, and He has provided in another form for the service of His altar. They ought indeed to be restored; and let the restitution be fully made. But let it be made to Him in the hands of His poor. They are His representatives. Therefore it is that the Bishops declare that, 'by appropriating the ecclesiastical property of Ireland for the benefit of the poor, the Legislature would realise one of the purposes for which it was originally destined, and to which it was applied in Catholic times.' By this, the Bishops do not mean that it should be applied to relieve the landlords of the poor-rates, or the Government of the cost of education, but in other ways for which there is no provision.

There are many works of piety and charity, much needed in Ireland, which would absorb much. The rest

that much may be made of it, to the glory of religion, and the good of the State. If the other was willing to hear of any melioration, it might, without any strong perceivable change, be rendered much more useful. But prosperity is not apt to receive good lessons, nor always to give them; re-baptism you won't allow, but truly it would not be amiss for the Christian world to be re-christened.'—Letter to Rev. Dr. Hussey, February 27, 1795; *Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 284.

would go direct to the poor if it were applied to such a settlement of the land as would lift the families of the poor by giving them an interest in the soil.

But the question of applying the proceeds, be it easy or difficult of solution, in no way bears upon the absolute duty of withdrawing from Catholic Ireland the ubiquitous offence and challenge of a Protestant Establishment in every diocese and in every parish, where sometimes the whole population is exclusively Catholic. Perfect religious equality, as in Canada and Australia, is the sole way of peace and justice between England and Ireland.

And now, my Lord, I will not shrink from venturing even upon the land question, because it is the chief and paramount condition on which the peace of Ireland depends. In comparison with this question, all others are light. It is the question of the people and of the poor; of social peace or agrarian war; of life or of death to millions. Until lately we have been led to believe that no one could understand it. We have been persuaded by the confident assertions of men to shut our mouths before it, as if it had some special and infallible difficulty; as if it were a problem that statesmen could not unravel, of which political economists could render no account. Foreign nations are not of this opinion: they see no exceptional difficulty or complexity about it; and there are some general truths and governing axioms connected with it about which there can be no reasonable doubt. To these I shall confine myself, and they will be enough to show the inevitable necessity of legislation on the relation of the Irish people to the land.

I will begin, then, by affirming that there is a natural and divine law, anterior and superior to all human and civil law, by which every people has a right to live of the fruits of the soil on which they are born, and in which they are buried. This is a right older and higher than any personal right. It is the intrinsic right of the whole people and society, out of which all private rights to the soil and its fruits are created, and by which those created rights must always be controlled. A starving man commits no theft if he saves his life by eating of his neighbour's bread so much as is necessary for the support of his existence. The civil law yields before the higher jurisdiction of the divine, as the positive divine law yields before the natural law of God. Even the 'shewbread' might be eaten to save life. If at any time the civil laws shall so define the property of private persons as to damage the public weal, the supreme civil power has both the power and the duty so to modify those private rights as to reconcile them with the public good. No better example can be found than in the Act of Elizabeth, whereby the land in England was charged with the relief of the poor. The Law of Settlement is a modified right to the soil—a right to live on it and of it. The poor are joint owners of the usufruct. The land being a fixed quantity, and the people an extending quantity, it is inevitable that the preoccupation of the whole area of the country by a small number of landlords must have the effect of excluding or disinheriting the greater part of the people from all possession of the soil. The poor law, therefore, charged the general estate with a rent-charge for

the younger children of the realm. Nothing can be conceived more just; and yet, when it was proposed in 1838 for Ireland, it was called 'confiscation.' For three hundred years the landlords in England had clearly recognised it as a just law; Irish landlords resisted it as a violation of the rights of property. It is to be doubted if the land laws of England would have lasted till this date if the Act of Elizabeth had not made their exclusiveness tolerable to the mass of the people. Here, then, is a wise and just modification of private rights by a higher law—'Salus populi suprema lex.' It is a law as conservative as it is just. Without it, where would be now the great estates of England? The late Sir Robert Peel said to a friend, from whom I heard it, that by the repeal of the corn laws he had saved the landlords against their will. The same will, I trust, be true of the land laws in Ireland.

I need not recite what all men know, that there is no right of private property which is not modified, not only by those higher laws, but also by a multitude of positive enactments, based only on public utility. What are the forced sales of all kinds of property, even the most valuable to the owners, ancestral estates, and cherished homes, if a line of railway be required? In building our own dwelling-houses, we are limited and controlled in endless ways, as to frontages, and lights, and construction. We cannot use our own land except under limitations which take from its extent. We cannot do what we will with our own. We cannot even let in the light of heaven, which is *res nullius*, and

therefore the universal property of all men, except under conditions which protect our neighbour, not in life and limb, but in convenience and comfort. We may not set up mills or works upon a river which may cause the stream to alter its course, and to damage our neighbour down the stream. We may not bank our own side of the river so as to make it eat away the shore of the opposite owner. Our whole law is full of wise, equitable, merciful limitations upon the absolute right of private property. The notion that we may do what we will with our own—that is, that we have no limit to our use but our own will—is false every way, immoral, and contrary to all laws civil, natural, and divine. In the use and employment of our private rights, we are subject to the public good. If we respect the public good, the Legislature has no need to intervene. If we use our extreme rights to our neighbour's hurt, the law will justly come in to protect him, and to limit our freedom. In England the traditions of centuries, the steady growth of our mature social order, the ripening of our agriculture and of our industry, the even distribution and increase of wealth, has reduced the relation of landlord and tenant to a fixed, though it be an unwritten, law, by which the rights of both are protected. There may be in England no need of land laws. Our land customs may be enforced in the courts, and thereby have the force of law. English landlords, as a rule, live on their estates. Their lands are their homes. English tenants are protected by the mightiest power that ever ruled a Christian country—a power which controls the Legislature, dictates the laws, and guides even the sovereignty of the

Crown—the force of a vigilant, watchful, ubiquitous, public opinion.

But in Ireland none of these things are so. In one-fourth of Ireland there are land laws, or, rather, land customs, which protect the tenant. In three-fourths of Ireland there are neither laws nor customs. The tenants are tenants at will. Over a vast proportion of Ireland the landlords are absentees. The mitigating and restraining influences of the lords of the soil, which in England, and in every civilised country, do more to correct the excesses of agents, speculators, and traffickers, and to temper legal rights with equity and moderation, are hardly to be found. The substantial improvements upon farms, and the buildings necessary for agriculture, are made, not by the landlord, as in England, but by the tenant in Ireland. Is this to be found in any other country of Europe? The tenant has no security that his outlay is his own, or that he shall ever reap the benefit of it. Whatever goes into the soil, whatever is built upon it, 'fructificat domino.' The landlord may raise his rent at will, and give him notice to quit at will. The tenant at will may be put out for any cause; not only for non-payment of rent, or waste of his land, or bad farming, or breach of covenant, if such can be supposed to exist, all of which would bear a colour of justice; but for the personal advantage of the landlord arising from the tenant's improvements; for political influence; for caprice, for any passing reason, or no reason, assigned, or not assignable, which can arise in minds conscious of absolute and irresponsible power. This is an evil state. Abso-

lute and irresponsible power is too great for man. Even supreme civil rulers do not possess it; but the rights of property, as they are claimed in Ireland, in respect to the amount of rent and the eviction of tenants, are absolute and irresponsible. The very term 'tenant at will' is there of dangerous sound. If the events which have passed in Ireland since 1810 had passed in England, the public opinion of this country would have imperiously compelled the Legislature to turn our land customs into Acts of Parliament. If any sensible proportion of the people of the English counties were to be seen moving down upon the Thames for embarkation to America, and dropping by the roadside from hunger and fever, and it had been heard by the wayside that they were 'tenants at will,' evicted for any cause whatsoever, the public opinion of the country would have risen to render impossible the repetition of such absolute and irresponsible exercise of legal rights. It would erect tribunals to judge between landlords and tenants; it would reduce to open and legal process the exercise of these imperial rights claimed by private citizens. If five millions, that is a fourth of the English people, had either emigrated in a mass, by reason of discontent, misery, or eviction, or had died by fever and by famine since the year 1848, the whole land system of England would have been modified so as to render the return of such a national danger impossible for ever. But both these suppositions have been verified in Ireland.

Whole counties have been sensibly drained of their population; the public ways have been choked by

departing trains of emigrants; one-fourth of the population of Ireland fled from it, or died of hunger and fever, and yet the Legislature still maintains the land laws under which these things are possible. Parliament did, indeed, fifteen years ago, solemnly recognise the right of tenants, but that recognition lies dead on the record. This, too, adds bitterness to those who suffer. Their right has been acknowledged, but its protection has for fifteen years been delayed. Of this, however, it will be better to speak hereafter. That I may not seem to use exaggeration, I will give one or two statements from an authority I cannot mistrust. In the year 1849, more than 50,000 evictions took place; more than 50,000 families were turned out of their dwellings without pity and without refuge. 'If we assume that the evictions of one year, 1849, admitting it to be an exceptional one, represented a fifth of those which occurred in twenty years, our calculation would be below and not above the truth. Give only four individuals to each evicted family, and we have, on a moderate estimate, one million of human beings driven by force from their homes.'[7] This is softly called a 'clearance.' Mr. Butt, from whom I quote these statements, goes on to say: 'Let us estimate, impartially—calmly, if we can—the character of these evictions. They were not the ordinary transactions in which the owner of property reclaims it from persons in whose hands he does not wish it to remain; they were in many instances clearances of estates, that is, the dispossession of a whole population from their

[7] *Land Tenure in Ireland*, by Isaac Butt, Esq., p. 34.

ancestral homes. These people were cottiers, it is true. Their existence had become inconvenient to the great lord to whose ancestors Oliver Cromwell's grant had given the ownership of the land. From generation to generation, they and their forefathers had lived as cottiers upon that land under a system tolerated by law. The hope of gain, the dread of a poor-rate, the desire for large farms, had prompted the edict which commanded that the whole condition of life in an entire district shall be changed. By what name shall we call a wholesale extermination that followed such an edict as this? It is vain to disguise it as the exercise of any right of civilised property.'[8]

The same author adds two other instances. 'I could tell of another estate, on which the landlord's agent has laid down the rule that, under no circumstances, shall two families be permitted to live in the same house. An aged widow invited her daughter, who had lost her husband, to take share of her house. For this crime, although occupying a respectable position—the mother of a Roman Catholic priest—she is actually evicted from a farm where she had lived for nearly fifty years. She is given her choice to leave that home or send away her daughter.'

One other instance, and it is the last. 'A townland in one of the midland counties was inhabited by a prosperous and contented community. An estate of about five hundred acres was divided into thirteen farms; thirteen thriving families occupied the ground, a happy and contented tenantry, numbering thirteen

[8] *Land Tenure in Ireland*, p. 34.

families. They paid as rent the full value of their farms. They paid that rent punctually. The families of some had occupied for centuries the same farms. The industry of themselves and their forefathers had given fertility to the soil. Crime was unknown among them. Disputes with their landlord they had none.

'It suited the convenience of their landlord to sell his interest in this estate. The purchaser was buying it to traffic in it, and he believed it would be more marketable if it were freed from the encumbrance of human beings. To effectuate this object, the seller covenanted to clear the estate. The tenants, who had paid up every penny of their rent, were all served with notice to quit; they were all evicted. Thirteen human habitations were levelled, the inmates turned out upon the world, reduced at once from comfort to absolute beggary. It so happened that, in this instance, the landlord adopted a course which enabled a jury to strain the law, and award these poor tenants ample compensation. But for the awkwardness with which the proceeding was carried out, it might all have been done without the power of any human tribunal to take cognisance of the wrong. An accidental blunder in the process put it in the power of a jury of landlords, by the damages they awarded, to mark their sense of the moral character of the act.'[9]

I doubt not, my Lord, that these things already are well known to you. But I believe they are unknown to the English people at large. I do not believe they would rest a day without crying out to be

[9] *Land Tenure in Ireland*, p. 40.

delivered from the shame of partaking, even by silence, in such atrocities. When a writer like Mr. Mill affirms that the conscience of Europe condemns us for our treatment of Ireland, there are critics among us who deride his words. But his words are measured and true. I have talked freely for many years with men of most countries in Europe. I have found everywhere a profound sympathy with Ireland, in no way flattering to England. Our insularity keeps these things from our ears, and we therefore soothe ourselves with the notion of our own superiority to other men. But such an abuse of the rights of property is without parallel, at least in this century, on the continent of Europe. Our self-respect should lead us to give up the illusion that our office in the civilised world is to 'teach the nations how to live.' We may learn of Prussia, France, Switzerland, and Tuscany, even of Canada and Prince Edward's Island, all of which are in advance of England in the solution of what is called the 'land question' in Ireland.

How is it to be expected that a people will be industrious who have no security that they will not be swept off the land they till? How will they improve it if they have no security that they shall retain the benefit of that improvement? How shall justice be done to the land unless it be improved by advancing cultivation? How shall cultivation advance if improvements be visited by a rise in the rent, and the increased rent be enforced by notice to quit? How shall the land so treated fail to breed famine and fever, and a people so harassed restrain themselves from

a wild discontent and bitter retaliation? The same would be the state of England if custom, which is the 'mother of quietness,' and therefore of plenty, did not protect the tenant from arbitrary rents and arbitrary evictions.

It is sometimes over-boldly said that landlords in Ireland are not guilty of these abuses of extreme rights. If so, then they would not be in any way wronged if the Legislature, by statute, should make such abuses to be for ever impossible. The bare possibility of such acts of arbitrary power destroys confidence, and ought to be legally extinguished. What just landlord would complain if he were so limited by law as to be unable to commit three wrongs—first, the wrong of abusing his right by arbitrary eviction; secondly, by exacting an exorbitant rent; thirdly, by appropriating to his own use the improvements effected by the industry of his tenants? A merciful man would not only not resent such a law, but would gladly preclude the possibility that any owner of land should blot the fair name of landlord, and embitter the hearts of men against his whole class by such injustice. It has been well said, 'A whole people must not hold their position in the country upon the chances of individual character. In a country like Ireland, to give the power of doing such things is to insure that they will be done.'[10] And none would be more glad of such merciful laws as would prevent their being done than they who now mercifully use their arbitrary rights, and refrain from doing them.

[10] *Land Tenure in Ireland*, p. 40.

But it is not my intention to enter into any detailed plans or schemes for such a purpose. I do not pretend to draft a land bill, or even to give the heads. But any one may lay down the principles which ought to govern this question, and may do so without hesitation, and upon the highest authority. In the year 1852, the Government of Lord Derby introduced a Bill affirming the great principle of equity, 'That the property created by the industry of the tenant belongs of right and in justice to himself, and that it is the duty of the Legislature to protect it by law.'[11]

This Bill was accepted and supported by the Government of Lord Aberdeen, which succeeded in 1853. It was supported by all the three great political parties in the State. It was urged upon Parliament by the first statesmen and lawyers of the day; by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, Sir George Grey, Sir George Lewis, by Sir Richard Bethell, Mr. Cairns, Mr. Napier, Mr. Whiteside, now four of the highest authorities of the law in Great Britain and Ireland. The Bill was passed by large majorities, but never became law. In 1855 it was revived in the House of Commons, and lost. But majorities, though they make laws, cannot unmake rights. The great right of equity, once so clearly seen and so authoritatively enunciated, remains as a witness of justice, and a warning of the danger which will never pass away till justice be done. I say justice without fear, because legal right is not always just. The highest legal right is sometimes the greatest wrong. Human law is but an imperfect expression of

[11] *Land Tenure in Ireland*, p. 85.

the natural and divine right which is anterior and superior to all legislation. There are axioms and principles which restrain, modify, and suspend the action of law, and become a higher law of supreme jurisdiction. What is the High Court of Equity but a tribunal above the law, dispensing justice often against the letter of the law, of which it may be truly said, 'The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life'? And what is the High Court of Parliament but a tribunal higher even than the Court of Chancery? And to this tribunal the Irish people come, as Sicily came of old for redress of wrongs to the Imperial Senate. Ireland prays that it may be declared by the Sovereign Justice of the Empire that the property in the soil which the industry and enterprise of the tillers and tenants of the soil have created, though by law it belongs to the landlord, nevertheless, by moral right, higher than all other law, belongs to those who have created it. Of this supreme right of natural and divine justice, it is that they claim the protection of the highest tribunal of the realm. Scotland and England already possess this security by customs. Why should it be denied to Ireland? Where these customs exist, they ought to be made into law; where they do not exist, they ought by law to be created.

It may be thought that I have ventured to speak upon a subject which is beyond both my capacity and my duty. But I have done so from the profound conviction that the deepest and sorest cause of the discontent and unrest of Ireland is the land question. I am day by day in contact with an impoverished race driven

from home by the land question. I see it daily in the destitution of my flock. The religious inequality does indeed keenly wound and excite the Irish people. Peace and good-will can never reign in Ireland until every stigma is effaced from the Catholic Church and faith, and the galling injustice of religious inequality shall have been redressed. This, indeed, is true. But the 'Land Question,' as we call it, by a somewhat heartless euphemism, means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labour spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives; the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind. All this is contained in the land question. It is this which spreads through the people in three-fourths of Ireland with an all-pervading and thrilling intensity. It is this intolerable grief which has driven hundreds of thousands to America, there to bide the time of return. No greater self-deception could we practise on ourselves than to imagine that Fenianism is the folly of a few apprentices and shop-boys. Fenianism could not have survived for a year if it were not sustained by the traditional and just discontent of almost a whole people. Such acts of rashness and violence as have marked the last twelve months may be the work of a few, and those of no high or formidable classes; but they would never have been perpetrated, they would never have been possible, if it were not for the profound estrangement of a large part of the people from British

laws and from British Government. This feeling is to be found nowhere more calm, deep, and inflexible than among those who are in immediate contact with the 'land question;' that is, in the occupiers and tenants, and in the labourers, whose lot is better or worse as the occupiers and tenants prosper or are impoverished. These are neither apprentices nor shop-boys; neither are they a handful, but a population; and a population in close kindred and living sympathy with millions who have tasted the civil and religious equality, and are thriving under the land laws, of the United States. Let us not deceive ourselves. Ireland is between two great assimilating powers, England and America. The play and action of America upon England, if it be seven days slower in reaching Ireland than that of England, is sevenfold more penetrating and powerful upon the whole population. It is estimated that in the last twenty-five years 24,000,000*l.* have been sent over by the Irish in America for the relief or for the emigration of their kindred and friends. The perfect unity of heart, will, and purpose which unites the Irish on either side of the Atlantic cannot be more complete. Add to this, that the assimilating power of England, which has overcome the resistance of Scotland, and absorbed it into itself, is met by a stern repulsion in Ireland, which keeps the two races asunder. Add again, that the assimilating power of America is met and welcomed with gratitude, sympathy, aspiration; that the attitude of Ireland has long been, as Sir Robert Peel said in Parliament five-and-twenty years ago:

'With her back turned to England, and her face to the west.'

Four millions and a half of Irish in Ireland turn instinctively to five millions of Irish in America.

It is this that every statesman and citizen ought to weigh; and the first condition to estimating the gravity of the danger is to put away the childish shallowness with which some of our public papers have treated Fenianism. For nearly three hundred years, the same diseases in Ireland have produced the same perils. In the seventeenth century, the men who should have been our strength were in the armies of Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and the Low Countries. In the eighteenth century, according to the records of the War Office in France, 450,000 are stated to have died between 1690 and 1745 in the French service; and as many more, it is believed, between 1745 and the beginning of this century. Is this imperial wisdom or imperial strength? My Lord, I will not pursue these thoughts. I cannot think that the statesman who will not staunch this ebbing of our life-blood will deserve well of his country. And I do not think that any man who cannot, at least in some measure, do so is a statesman. It needs little wisdom or capacity to see that the constitution which fitted England in its childhood, when it was bounded by Berwick Castle and the Cinque Ports, is a garment too narrow to cover the limbs of three kingdoms. The Tudor Statutes will not even clothe Great Britain. Presbyterian Scotland has indignantly cast off the English Constitution in Church and State. Great Britain and Ireland cannot any longer be straitened in the Penal Statutes of Crom-

well and the Revolution. We have outgrown not only our swaddling clothes and the gear of our childhood: we have become an empire of many races, and of many religions; and the worst enemy of our civil and religious peace could devise no surer policy of discord, and no more fatal device of ruin, than the attempt to keep alive the ascendency of race over race, of religion over religion, of church over church. A policy of absolute equality in religion is alone imperial, and, I will add, if the empire is to hold together, is alone possible. It is already, with few and slight lingering imperfections, realised in our colonies: Canada and Australia have led the way, and are teaching the mother country how to live. I trust we shall not be too proud to learn our lesson. As one who towards the end of life can look back without discerning a deed or word at variance with the heartfelt loyalty of an Englishman, and as one who next after that which is not of this world desires earnestly to see maintained the unity, solidity, and prosperity of the British Empire, I implore all who are near the springs of sovereign power, and are able to guide by their wisdom the course of legislation, to take no rest until they shall have raised Ireland to an absolute equality, social, political, and religious, with England and Scotland, and shall have won back the love and fidelity of the noble-hearted, generous, heroic people of Catholic Ireland. Sir John Davies, Attorney-General in Ireland in 1613, no soft judge by nature or by office of the Irish nation, has left on record his opinion, formed on the experience of many years, 'That there is no nation of people under the sun that doth

love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the executions thereof, although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefits of the law when upon just cause they do desire it.'

Let 'equal and indifferent justice' be done even now, and the heart of Ireland may yet be won.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your obedient servant,

✠ H. E. MANNING.

March 12, 1868.

# X.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

SESSION 1868-9.

IN opening our proceedings of the year before last, I made certain observations on the state and tendency of religious thought in England, and on the temper and spirit in which we ought to meet it. And now, in addressing you at the outset of our eighth year, I do not know that I can do better than to take up the same subject where I left off. In the conclusion of the paper I then read were these words,—'The royal supremacy has perished by the law of mortality which consumes all earthly things.' I need hardly guard my words by saying that I spoke only of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. The civil and political supremacy was never contested. The power of the Crown, if less absolute in its mode of procedure, was never more supreme, and never so widely spread as now. Its indefeasible prerogatives in the order of civil Government have become more evident and irresistible in proportion as it has disengaged itself from the monstrous pretensions of Henry VIII. The theory of established Churches demands an ecclesiastical supremacy in the civil power. The two come and go together; and when the ecclesiastical supremacy is declining, the days of

establishments are numbered. In the year before last, I pointed out the fact that the Tudor Statutes have almost passed away. The greater part are actually erased from the statute-book. Those that remain are almost equally dead. The mind of the country is against them. In Ireland all the tyranny of Tudors and Stuarts failed to impose the royal supremacy upon a Catholic people. Penal laws could not accomplish it. The Established Church has not only utterly failed to conciliate the people of Ireland to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, but it has rendered the name and thing more than ever intolerable.[1] In Scotland the whole people rose against it. In England half the population has gradually rejected it. The remaining half of the people passively endure it; but in the Established Church itself a large class profess to limit the jurisdiction of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters to the temporal accessories of spiritual things, denying altogether its competence to touch any matter purely spiritual, and rejecting all royal acts exceeding these limits, as abuses or excesses of power. Now, though this theory is manifestly not the law of the land, it is nevertheless worthy of our sympathy and respect. It is an additional evidence of the cancelling of the Tudor supremacy from many of the best and highest minds in the Established Church. They who hold this theory protest against all such judgments as that in the case of Mr. Gorham and of the *Essays and Reviews*. They treat them as tyrannical acts of the State, external to

[1] Since this was written the Established Church in Ireland has ceased to exist.

the Church of England. They contend that the Church of England is persecuted, but not committed by such acts of the Crown. The facts are not so; but it is a hopeful sign that the members of the Established Church have come to reject these pretensions of the Tudor supremacy. It is equivalent to an admission that the Catholics were right in refusing it from the first; that their instincts are justified by the event. I note this because it is an evidence of the direction in which the stream is running; and both charity and generosity require of us to forward these tendencies with all good-will, and without a word of unkindly comment.

To those whose memories can reach back to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and to the emancipation of Catholics, it is evident that the changes we now see hurrying onwards like the race of a tide have been long preparing. The Church of England was morally disestablished by the change in our polity which placed its destinies in the hands of a constituency and a legislature in which Dissenters from the State religion form a very powerful element. From that day the Church of England began to appeal to its own spiritual authority and to exert its own internal energies. It became a voluntary body in three distinct ways,—in the multiplication of churches dependent on voluntary offerings, in the founding of schools without endowments, and in the multiplication of colonial bishoprics. Twenty years and more ago those who watched the voluntary churches formed in our colonies foresaw that the colonies would react upon the mother

country, and that the unestablished churches of Canada and Australia would insure and hasten the disestablishment of their mother church. But no one, I think, foresaw how soon or how rapidly the question would be raised. They who can remember the political events from 1830 to 1840 will recollect how violent were the outcries against the Established Church, and the demands for the removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords. The Establishment was formidably threatened, but it was not as yet in much danger. The old political and social traditions were too strong: the power of the Establishment in Parliament was paramount. It was confident of its own strength, and defiant of its adversaries. The time of reforming abuses was come, because the time of disestablishment was not yet. As now the time of reforming abuses in the Irish Church is past, because the time of disestablishing is come. But since 1840 irresistible currents of change have been working within the Church Establishment. It has been parting asunder by the repulsion of two schools, each tending to their ultimate analysis, the Anglo-Catholic and the Critical, or, to use not offensively, but only for clearness-sake, two other terms, the Romanising and the Rationalistic Schools. These two forms of thought and these two intellectual tendencies are so fully launched into activity that nothing can restrain them from reaching their natural points of rest. The Church of England is incapable of controlling or of holding them together. It cannot do so by authority, for both reject it; the one as incompetent, the other as inadmissible. It cannot do so by intel-

lectual control, for both alike regard the Anglican reformation as intellectually incoherent. It cannot do so by spiritual suasion, for both alike regard it as unattractive in its influences. Still less can it do so by its coercive judgments, for both alike appeal from them to their own standards of Catholicity or of Reason. This development of two counter and divergent movements has now been in operation for thirty years, and every successive decade has revealed that for the Church of England to return upon its past, or to retain its present attitude towards its own members, towards the country, towards the Catholic Church, is impossible. It is to be observed that the noted controversies on baptism and inspiration had no sooner ended with the decision of the Crown in Council than a new class of questions was forced upon the supreme tribunal of appeal. The appeals in causes of doctrine had revealed the true pretensions of the royal supremacy in matters of belief. This rendered the royal supremacy intolerable at home. The appeals in matters of jurisdiction from Natal revealed the pretensions, but also the incompetence, of the Crown in matters of authority, and this rendered the royal supremacy intolerable in the colonies. Some of the best and most capable minds in the colonies are demanding freedom, which means disestablishment for their Church, and that demand is supported at least for the colonies, and sometimes for even more, by a powerful sympathy at home. Some also of the best and most capable minds in England are prophesying that the Church of England must be disestablished, and are not only preparing for the event,

but not obscurely invoking it as a release from the burden of a civil supremacy in matters of conscience.

The Church of England has come to see that the supremacy of Kings has passed into the supremacy of Parliaments. The change in our political constitution is by itself effacing the whole theory of the Tudor supremacy. It is now resolved into the supremacy of the popular will. It was already intolerable to have an appellate jurisdiction in the Crown. It is still more intolerable to have it vested in the electoral constituency. This is powerfully and rapidly estranging men's minds from the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. While, on the one hand, those who reject it are fashioning to themselves theories more or less near to the Catholic doctrine, on the other, writers of note are fashioning a new theory of a National Church and of the royal supremacy. Dean Stanley and the *Pall Mall Gazette* may be taken to represent this new school of pure Erastianism. Dean Stanley is tolerant, comprehensive, and patient of endless contradictions within the communion of the National Church. If the nation be divided in religious opinion, so must, or rather ought to be, the National Church. The *Pall Mall Gazette* is peremptory in erecting the popular will, exercised through the Government and tribunals of the country, into the ultimate judge and disposer of the National religion. The supremacy of Cæsarism is past. The supremacy of the democracy will be the next form of ecclesiastical authority. So long as there is an Establishment, this supreme control will be claimed; but the claim is in itself intolerable, and nothing can more

powerfully alienate men from the idea of an Establishment.

There are only the five following conclusions or theories possible:

First, that the Church and the State should stand in relations of mutual recognition, amity, and co-operation, under the supreme direction of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, Pontiff and King; or,

Secondly, that the Church be established, and thereby subjected to the State, as in Constantinople after the schism, in England by Henry VIII., and in Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; or,

Thirdly, that the State should establish and endow all communions alike, and assume a supreme control over them all.

Fourthly, that the State, holding itself aloof from all contact with religion and religious communions, shall nevertheless exercise a supreme control over them all.

Fifthly, that all religious communions in a country be disestablished, that is, tolerated, but not incorporated in the public laws, the State ceasing to interfere in any way with them.

The first is the ecclesiastical supremacy for which S. Thomas and Sir Thomas More laid down their lives.

The second is the royal supremacy of Henry VIII.

The third has been proposed by many English statesmen, and is recommended now by many for Ireland.

The fourth is the theory to which the rationalistic liberalism of this country is tending.

The fifth is the state to which a power higher than

theory, the irresistible current of events, is carrying us. They who promote it may be adversaries of the Church, but the Church will know how to use it for its own liberty and mission to the world.

It may be not unreasonable to examine these several theories, because with surprise and regret I have observed that even among Catholics the true relations of the Church and the State have been so imperfectly defined, that some confound the union or concord of Church and State with what is called the Establishment of the Church.

It is the more remarkable that such an illusion should have existed, because in the Syllabus of 1864 Pius IX. has condemned the proposition 'that it is lawful to constitute National Churches separate from the Roman Pontiff.'[2] This alone is enough to show that, in condemning the proposition 'that the Church ought to be separate from the State and the State from the Church,' the Holy Father had no intention to recognise in any sense as the Church the national bodies whose very existence he had condemned already.

In order to illustrate what is the union of Church and State which the Holy Father sanctions in the act of condemning the theory of separation, I will take the history of the Church in England, and I do so the more willingly because I have lately had often to speak on the same topic; but the report of my words has in every case omitted the chief evidence on which the whole argument depends.

The earliest historical document in which the

[2] Syllabus of Pius IX., prop. 37.

Church in its corporate character is recognised by the public law of England is a canon of the Council of Berghamstede or Barsted in Kent under Withred, king of Kent, in the year 697, that is, a century after S. Augustin. There are three versions of the canon. The first is given by Sir Henry Spelman as follows: 'Let the Church be free, and enjoy its judgments, and revenues, and pensions. Let prayers be made for the King, and let men obey his laws, not by coercion of necessity, but of free will.'[3] The second version is given by Wilkins: 'Let the Church enjoy immunity and tributes, and let prayer be made for the King, and let him be honoured, not by coercion, but of free will.'[4] The third in Johnson's *Canons* runs: 'A freedom from taxes belongs to the Church, and let men pray for the King, and honour him of their own accord, without any compulsory law.'[5]

Now in all these three versions alike the Church is recognised as a body or corporation, or, to use a later language, as a moral person, and is so treated with by the public law of the land. Secondly, it was declared to have a liberty or an immunity of its own, which the public law respected and preserved. Thirdly, it had its judgments, that is, its tribunals, jurisdictions, and sentences. Fourthly, it had its revenues, pensions, and tributes, which were held by the Church, and recognised by the State. Lastly, in its prayers for the King it made intercession, not by any royal command, but by the instinct of Christian piety.

[3] Spelman's *Councils*, tom. i. p. 194.
[4] Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 60.
[5] Johnson's *Canons*, vol. i. sub anno DCXCVI.

This corporate character the Church has from its Divine Founder, with the powers of government, legislation, and judicial authority committed to it. The word 'body' was first applied to a multitude of persons taken collectively by S. Paul. This Church is 'the Body of Christ.' It is therefore a corporation by the same metaphor. From this main and primary idea of a corporate existence, the term 'corporation' was communicated in after ages to the integral parts of the Church, such as Bishops, Chapters, Parochial Churches, and the like. They were called corporations, sole and aggregate, because they represent the Church, its powers and rights. Such is the true order of this subject, and not as a pretentious critic, replying to my words, would have it. After a conceited contempt of others, he tells us that the Church is not a corporation, but only its integral parts, such as I have before cited. But the truth is that their corporate character is communicated to them by the Church in behalf of which they hold property and exercise jurisdiction. The parish priest is *persona ecclesiæ*, the representative of the Church, so also the Bishop in a higher sense; but neither would ever have received the title of 'corporation,' if the Church had not been first recognised as a body divinely founded and incorporated. This one canon therefore is enough to show the relation of the Church to the State. It was one of legal recognition, union, amity, and protection. It was a corporation independent, self-sufficing, the sole fountain of its own jurisdiction, endowed with supernatural liberty, holding its own consecrated goods, exercising juris-

diction, both legislative and judicial. Its immunity from civil laws arose from its sovereign rights derived from its Divine Head. This sovereignty within its own sphere included the election of its own pastors, the judgment of its own members, its union with the visible Head of the Church on earth. In the centuries which followed, the Church became largely endowed, its Bishops became important civil personages. The laws of the land recognised its immunity and its jurisdiction. In the Saxon Councils the Church and the State met, each legislating in its own sphere, and each recognising and accepting the other's laws. Johnson, in his preface to the collection of canons, says, 'That it is hard to say whether those assemblies were synods or parliaments.' In fact they were both, but neither crossed the legislation of the other. What the Church decreed as canons, the Parliament enacted as laws. In the administration of justice the King's thane and the world's thane, that is, the Bishop and the Earl, sat together. In all this the Church was recognised as an independent, and, in many things, as a superior, power and jurisdiction. The union of the Church and State in this sense has the sanction of the Catholic Church in all ages. The dissolution or divorce of this union is condemned by Pius IX. as an error.

This state of the law of England continued with occasional violations down to the time of Henry VIII.

This state of the law was confirmed by the unbroken course of legislation down to the Council of Clarendon. It had been confirmed also by the oaths of Danish, Saxon, and Norman kings. William the

Conqueror swore by his royal oath to observe these liberties; so did his successors, as William Rufus, who persecuted S. Anselm, and Henry II., who martyred S. Thomas. It is true, nevertheless, that both the Saxon and the Norman kings gradually usurped upon the freedom of the Church by customs; that is, by personal and royal influences over persons in the matter of its elections, and over its possessions. The influence of the King was often too great to leave much liberty of election to the Chapters. And this, before the Conquest, was all the more likely to occur from the close union and co-operation of the two powers. The Councils were also Parliaments, and in the County Courts the two jurisdictions ran together. It is therefore undoubtedly true that even the Saxon kings promoted their favourites to bishoprics, and thereby violated the freedom of election; and also that the royal influence drew to itself the decision of mixed questions, which belonged strictly to the ecclesiastical tribunal. It is, nevertheless, certain that by both the canons of the Church and by the laws of England the Church possessed its immunities or liberties in elections, judgments, appeals to Rome, and in the freehold of its revenues, lands, and goods. This state of the law was confirmed by William the Conqueror on oath, and violated by him more systematically than by any of the Saxon kings. What they had been used to attempt, he claimed as *customs* of the realm. They were avowedly, *præter legem*, at variance with the law. They in effect suspended the law without rescinding it. The law required that the Church should be free;

the customs of the Crown deprived it of its freedom. Just as at this day a *congé d'élire* is attended by a letter of nomination, and the Anglican Chapters choose the man whom they are unable to reject. This is a fair sample of custom overruling law.

This state of the law, then, continued down to the 24 of Henry VIII. It was vindicated by S. Anselm and by S. Thomas; it was incorporated in the first article of Magna Charta, the words of which are almost a transcript of the Canon of Berghamstede. The King says, 'First, that the English Church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt.' The charter goes on to specify in particular the freedom of elections. I have dwelt upon this in order to make clear that no amount of precedents or historical examples of royal influences in contravention of the liberties of the Church during the Saxon or early Norman period affects the assertion that those liberties were recognised and incorporated in the laws of the land, and that the contrary customs were abuses and excesses of royal power, not only not warranted by law, but in direct violation of the same. It is certain, indeed, that from the time of Richard II. (13 and 16 Ric. II.) the statutes of Provisors and other anti-papal Acts of Parliament began to incorporate these customs in the statutes of the realm; and that, finally, the customs claimed by Henry II. were incorporated in the 24, 25, and 26 of Henry VIII. But I will not anticipate. For the present, I wish only to show that the liberties of the Church were the laws of the land, and the violations of these liberties were not by law

but against law, and had no warrant but the alleged customs of kings. In order to place this beyond doubt, I might quote the contemporary lives of S. Thomas, by Edward Grim, Roger of Pontigny, John of Salisbury, Alan of Tewkesbury, William of Canterbury, Henry and Roger of Croyland, and others; but I prefer to make shorter work of it, and to recite a few passages which are decisive. They shall be taken from the letters of S. Thomas to Pope Alexander III.; from the narrative of those who were present at the conflicts between the Archbishop and the King; and, finally, from the Retractation of the Archbishop of York and of the King himself. I need not do more than remind you that the constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up by the order of Henry II., and are the mind of the King expressed in his own words. The 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12 of those constitutions violate the liberties of the Church, in the immunity of the clergy and of its goods, the freedom of its tribunals, elections, and appeals. They made the King's courts and the King's appellate jurisdiction superior to the Archbishop, and final. The sum of the whole contest between Henry II. and S. Thomas, cannot be better expressed than in two lines from an old chronicle:

> 'That the King be in the Pope's stede,
> And amend the Archbishop's dede.'

Writing to the Pope, S. Thomas says, 'Be pleased to read over the Bill of those reprobate usages which he claims against the Church, and on account of which I am banished; and your Holiness will see clearly that, before I made any stand, he had, by these same usages,

stopped the mouths of all who would appeal to your court; prohibited all ecclesiastical persons from crossing the sea till an oath had been exacted from them; suffocated the rights of elections; drawn all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, before his own courts; and run his dagger into every liberty of the Church.'

S. Thomas here enumerates four liberties: that is, 1. of appeal; 2. of access to Rome; 3. of election; 4. of tribunals. 'I choose rather,' he adds, 'to be an outcast from the palace, to be exiled, proscribed, and to finish my life in the last wretchedness, than to seal the Church's liberty, and to prefer the iniquitous traditions of men to the law of God.'[6]

John of Salisbury, who was present at the conference between S. Thomas and Henry II., in the presence of the King of France at Montreuil, gives the appeal of Henry II. as follows: 'My Lord King, and you, O holy men and nobles, I declare to you I require nothing more from the Archbishop than the observance of certain usages which his five immediate predecessors (some of whom are Saints and have performed miracles) all observed' (how false this is, the conflict of S. Anselm on investitures is enough to show), 'and to which he himself has pledged himself. Let him again pledge himself to those in your Lordship's presence, without any mental reservation and subterfuge. This is the sole cause of disagreement between myself and his Lordship.'[7] Let it be here observed that the King does not venture to call these

[6] *S. Thom. Cant.*, ed. Giles, tom. iii. p. 53.
[7] Froude's *Remains*, second part, vol. ii. p. 376.

usages, laws, or statutes. He knew, as all men knew, that they had no letter or particle of law for their support. They were customs in violation of express laws, as the custom of bribery or undue influence is a violation of the purity and freedom of parliamentary election, and of the statutes made to protect it.

S. Thomas, writing to the Pope an account of the same conference, says, 'Certain it is that if the usages he demands obtain force, the authority of the Apostolic See in England will either vanish altogether, or be reduced to a minimum, as indeed it would have been long since, if we may trust the memory of this generation, and the writings of the past, unless princes had been checked by the Church of Canterbury.'[8]

In like manner the Archbishop, writing to William of Pavia, says, 'Would that your Lordship had allowed yourself to believe from the first what is now known by our persecutors' own testimony; for lately, in the face of the most Christian King, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, nobles, and all present, he publicly declared that the only cause of our exile and proscription was our refusal to observe the usages.' 'And because we do not absolutely pledge ourselves to usages, some of which void the authority of the Apostolic See, and extinguish the liberty of the Church, the King departed without concluding peace.'[9]

These passages might be multiplied almost without number. I have marked eighteen or twenty equally strong and explicit in which the claim of the King is uniformly made on the ground, not of law, but of *custom*.

[8] Froude's *Remains*, &c. p. 384. [9] Ibid. p. 392.

To prove this by final and decisive evidence, we may take the retractations of the Archbishop of York, and of Henry II. after the martyrdom of S. Thomas. Roger, Archbishop of York, was compelled to declare, 'that he had never confirmed, by writing or by oath, the hereditary *customs* respecting which the controversy between the King and the Archbishop turned.'[10] The King in a public document revoked his claim in the following words: 'We, Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, &c., publicly and openly revoke, abdicate, renounce, and resign all those evil customs, at variance with the ancient liberties of the Church in England, sinfully introduced by us, and we altogether renounce, for ourselves and for our heirs, all and every one of them, for which blessed Thomas, late Archbishop of Canterbury, contended even unto death;' 'and we grant, for us and our heirs, that the Church of Canterbury, and all other Churches in England, be free, and have all liberties inviolate as they were used before our coronation.'[11]

I have dwelt the more fully upon this point because, when of late I made these assertions, I was met by contradictions and criticisms so confident but so evidently shallow, that I have thought it worth while to justify my assertions by the evidence of the Archbishop and the King. I may add that, in wiser and less pretentious times, the 'Summa causæ inter Regem et Thomam' was thoroughly appreciated even by Protestants. Godwin, in his History of the Archbishops of England, says, 'The King in order to repress the license of the

[10] *Vita S. Thomæ*, vol. ii. p. 268, ed. Giles. [11] Ibid. p. 267.

prelates and clergy, and to distinguish the rights of the royal from the sacerdotal power, resolved to promulgate certain *customs* of the realm of England *drawn up* by Henry I. his grandfather, *but never yet made public*.'[12]

It is therefore beyond a doubt that the conflict of S. Thomas was precisely in behalf of the true and legitimate union of Church and State, in which the independence, integrity, and liberty of the Church are preserved inviolate, in contact but in harmony with the public authority and laws of the State. 'The Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is our mother.' The Church readily unites itself to the greatest of God's works next after itself, the natural and civil society of mankind. It elevates, directs, sanctifies, and consolidates the civil order which we call the State. It readily co-operates in all its action, in legislation, and in government; but it holds itself absolutely independent, and free in the exercise of all its prerogatives. The ultimate appeal in all things pertaining to its own office, authority, doctrines, elections, and jurisdiction must fall within its own sphere—that is, must be to its own Head. This liberty is more vital than life itself. S. Thomas died for it, as the Roman Pontiffs have died before. Throughout the world at this moment the Catholic Church preserves and transmits the same liberties inviolate. Various and complex as are its relations to the civil powers in such countries as France, Austria, Prussia, and the like, nowhere has it ever yielded the liberty, and therefore the purity, of its

[12] Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, pp. 73, 74.

elections, its spiritual judgments and appeals. Such is the Catholic Church, *recognised* indeed by human law, but refusing to be established: independent of all authorities, and sustaining the civil order of the world.

This, then, is the union of the Church and State which the Holy Father by the Syllabus confirms. We will now go on to show how little application this has to Established Churches.

The first example of what may be called an Established Church would be in Constantinople, under the Arian Emperors, and finally after the completion of the Greek schism. Beveridge in his *Synodicon*, or Councils of the Greek Church, shows from Balsamon and Zonaras that the Emperors became masters of the Greek Church as soon as it fell from Rome. They made the Patriarchs, and deposed them; they suspended the action of the Synods; they interpreted, modified, and annulled all canons; they decided all cases in appeal. The Greek Church became a National Church separated from the Roman Pontiffs, and for that cause fell under the local civil power. It accepted its position, and became established. How completely the Greek Church has been struck with sterility, how intensely excited by national jealousy, how estranged from the Holy See and the whole Christian world, every Catholic knows. And yet the Church in Constantinople has a hierarchy, a priesthood, and traditions, which sustained it in some degree against the secular influences of the Imperial power.

In England, even then, in every reign the liberties of the Church were expressly declared and confirmed by

statutes of Parliament. To show the full force of this statement, I add the words and references.

We have already seen the words of Magna Charta in the reign of John ('Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit').

The 14 Edward III. c. 1, declares 'That Holy Church have her liberties.'

The 50 Edward III. c. 1, 'That Holy Church have all her liberties.'

The 1 Ric. II. c. 1, 'That Holy Church shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish.'

The 2 Ric. II. c. 1, in the same words.

The 3 Ric. II. c. 1, in the same words again.

The 5 Ric. II. c. 1, the same words.

The 6 Ric. II. c. 1, 'That our Holy Mother, the Church of England, have all her liberties whole and unhurt, and the same shall freely enjoy and use.'

The 7 Ric. II. c. 1, as before.

The 8 Ric. II. c. 1, in the same words.

The 12 Ric. II. c. 1, the same.

The 1 Henry IV. c. 1, 'First, that Holy Church have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises entirely, and without imblemishing.'

The 2, 4, 7, 9, 13 Henry IV.

The 3 Henry V. c. 1, 'First, that Holy Church have all her liberties and franchises.'

The 4 Henry VI. c. 1, the same in fuller terms.[13]

Here are eighteen statutes declaring as law of England the liberties for which S. Thomas died. And be it observed that the article stands first in every statute

[13] Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

as the basis of civil order. It is remarkable that from the Reformation downwards the word 'liberties' disappears. We hear only of 'rights and privileges as by law.'

The full effect and meaning of 'establishment' is to be seen in England. We have already shown that the Church in this land possessed its liberty of elections, of discipline, of administration, of appeals, and of personal recourse to the Holy See. During the centuries from Henry II. to Henry VIII., the royal customs and the civil courts steadily encroached upon the jurisdiction and rights of the Church. The 25 and 26 of Henry VIII. first completed the conversion of what before was only custom into statute law. In the preamble of the 25 of Henry VIII. it is declared that England is an empire, and that this, spiritually and temporally, suffices respectively for all government and judgments in matters of religion or law. The Church was thereby declared to be national and self-sufficing in all matters of civil and spiritual law—that is, both in doctrine and in discipline. All jurisdiction hitherto belonging to the Pope was therefore transferred and annexed to the Crown. Whatsoever the Pope could have done in time past, the King could do for the time to come. The University of Oxford has to this day the Crown as visitor, to the exclusion of the Bishop, because until then the Pope excluded the ordinary from visitation. The Crown alone has power to convene and dissolve the Synods or Convocations. Convocation cannot meet without the writ of the Crown, nor, when met, proceed to business without royal license, nor, if it resolve anything, put it

in force until it obtains the King's leave. The whole legislative power of the Church is thus suspended. In like manner, also, the judicial. From all its courts an appeal lies to the Crown, whose sentence is final. It is high treason to receive, publish, or put in use any document from Rome. The Church goods are held by favour of the State. Down to 1839 or 1840, the Established Church held its property by tenure of corporations sole and aggregate. Since the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Established Church has been divested of its corporate character. The Church goods at this day are held by a commission appointed by Parliament, and the corporate character of the Church is extinct. We have here the true notion of establishment. I have said that the Catholic Church, while it readily accepts the recognition and co-operation of the State, refuses establishment, because the effect of establishment is to deprive it of its most vital liberties—the liberty of electing its own Bishops, of judging its own members, of binding and loosing by excommunications and absolutions, and of appealing to the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The royal customs, now the statutes of the realm, have reduced the Anglican Church to a bondage inevitable for all national Churches, but impossible for the Catholic. Its chains are of gold, but chains they are. It would be too long to draw out the detail of this question. The Establishment is so bound that it cannot silence a clergyman who denies the grace of Baptism or the eternity of punishment, nor depose a bishop who rejects the greater part of the Canon of Holy Scripture.

The acts of Henry VIII. have always been defended by the Anglican clergy and English lawyers, not as enacting, but as only declaratory, statutes. It is indeed true, as we have said, that the King and his courts had gradually encroached upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that the customary excesses and abuses of power had gradually become the rule in respect of questions of a temporal kind, such as benefices and patronage. Lord Coke has endeavoured to show that the Crown had always an appellate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. But Stillingfleet, moved by hostility to James II., proved against Lord Coke that it had not the power it claimed. Again, it is still further certain that the Crown never possessed the supremacy which even Stillingfleet claimed. It never touched a spiritual liberty of the Church but to be defeated. The old supremacy of the Crown recognised and obeyed the supremacy of the Vicar of Christ. They were in harmony and co-operation. The new supremacy not only excluded the authority and jurisdiction of the Pontiff, but annexed it to itself. Such, I conceive, is the true outline of the Established Church—'a national body, separate from the Roman Pontiff,' claiming to be sufficient within itself for all questions of faith and discipline; protected by law, but suspended by law from all legislative, judicial, and executive powers. To be established is to be subject to an ultimate authority, which is secular and fallible. It was to resist the first entrance of this claim that S. Thomas died. He had a prophetic instinct when he declared to Alexander III. that the King's customs, if not resisted, would have

long ago extinguished the authority of the Holy See in England. Henry VIII. extinguished the authority of the Holy See at a blow, with malice aforethought, knowing that dependence on Rome is independence of all civil powers, and that separation from Rome places a national Church at the feet of princes. Even the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople could not hold its own when separated from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. The English Church was in the power of kings from the moment it was cut off from his protection. It was this which distinguished the new supremacy from the old, and it was for this distinction that Sir Thomas More won his martyr's crown. No Catholic can surely confound the establishment of a national Church with the union of Church and State. The union of the two powers is, as we have shown, free, independent, mutually helpful and honourable to both. The establishment of a Church is the subjection of the spiritual to the civil, and can never take place except where a Church by heresy or schism is cut off from Catholic unity.

Now, as I have said, the people of these three kingdoms have already passed judgment upon the Royal Supremacy.

Its first and inevitable exercise was to enforce, by coercion and penal laws, if not an inward unity of belief, which was impossible, at least an outward uniformity of public worship. The history of the world does not contain anything more sanguinary and merciless than the persecutions in England and Ireland. The persecutions in Ireland are fabulous for their refined and relentless cruelty. The whole people re-

coiled from the Royal Supremacy as from an accursed thing, and suffered with joy that they might be innocent of the great offence. The Catholics and the Nonconformists of England suffered, side by side, under its tyranny and its tortures, and they suffered willingly rather than recognise in Prince or Parliament an authority over conscience, that is, over the Church, or the religion of Jesus Christ. The Royal Supremacy has alienated half the people from the established religion. In Scotland the tyrannous and insane attempt to force episcopacy and a liturgy upon the people was supported by cruelties which have made royal authority in religion a treason against the Crown rights of Jesus Christ. It is hardly possible to conceive antipathy deeper or more intense than the hatred with which Ireland, Scotland, and half of England regard the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. But the Royal Supremacy and the establishment of the Church are cause and effect. And now nearly two-thirds of the population of the three kingdoms desire that both should cease to be. Time has passed over the Tudor statutes, and for the fair name of England they are being blotted out of our history.

Men, at this day, are profoundly convinced that the Tudor statutes cannot, and ought not, any longer to exist. They see that, if at the first they were politic, they have become not only impolitic, but fatal to the unity, peace, and solidity of the Empire. Men are therefore casting about for theories and schemes to solve the difficulty, and have framed the three I have already stated. And this leads on to the other points,

which I will only touch very lightly, and then conclude.

Seeing that the exclusive establishment and endowment of one religious communion is henceforward impossible, some are now proposing to endow all Churches alike. But will the advocates of this theory tell us how many Churches there are, and how they will draw this line? In Ireland alone, besides the Catholic Church, the Anglican and Presbyterian communions, there are a hundred dissenting sects. Are they all to be levelled up? If not, will their members be contented? In like manner, in England and in Scotland the sects are counted by scores. There is, moreover, a large proportion of the most powerful religious bodies of the country who reject endowment altogether. It is a law of their existence to depend on voluntary gifts. Will they likewise consent to be endowed? They hold all interference of the State in religion to be contrary to the genius of Christianity. Will they consent to be established? They think one establishment intolerable: will they be passive under half-a-dozen?

But this facile talk about endowing religious bodies is very shallow. The endowments of Churches were never yet given by votes of Parliament. Before Parliaments existed, the faithful made free-will oblations of lands, houses, and money, which, accumulating from age to age, became, as they are called in the Capitularies of Charlemagne, 'patrimonia pauperum,' that is, the inheritance whereby both the spiritual and temporal needs of the poor were anticipated and provided for. Every communion gradually endows itself. And such

spontaneous self-endowment is peaceful, legitimate, and safe. It is the work of willing hearts and open hands. No man is constrained to give, and no man has a right to complain of the free gift of his neighbour. But the redistribution of endowments, when claimed as national property, must follow the will of the nation. And here the apple of gold is the beginning of discord: and of discord without end. It is not to be doubted that the silent growth of spontaneous endowment tends to consolidate our public order, and to inspire a wise and conservative temper. But to endow by legislative enactment would be to light up popular animosities, of which no man can foresee the issue. If such a policy were ever practicable, it is practicable no longer. The golden opportunity is past, and will never return. There is another reason why the Catholic Church in these kingdoms, strongly as it holds not the lawfulness only, but the expediency of endowments, can never encourage such a policy. The endowment of the Church is never mentioned, but in the same breath we hear of *vetos* and State control. What politicians aim at is not to endow the Catholic Church, but to control it. They do not commiserate our poverty: they are jealous of our freedom. It is of no use, because it has no relevance, to quote the relation of the Church to the civil powers in France or Prussia.[14] In both, those relations are regulated by public and explicit compacts with Rome. In neither France nor Prussia has the Catholic Church been persecuted for centuries by penal laws, of which the memory and the wounds are alike

[14] I leave the text as it stands, to show the instability of States.

fresh, as in Ireland, in the hearts of Catholics. In neither is the Government swayed by the anti-Catholic spirit which produced the Papal Aggression madness, and still perverts our whole social state. Before the Catholic Church in these realms will accept relations with the civil power, the civil power must cease to proclaim itself by any anti-Catholic title in religion.

We now come to the fourth theory, namely, that the State have no religion, nor be united to any religious communion; that all religious belief and action be relegated to the private life of individuals, but that nevertheless the State retain a supreme control over all. This is a peculiar form of Erastianism, springing from a combination of the Voltairian philosophy and the pretensions of democracy. The first and normal theory of the union of Church and State, which, from Constantine to the Reformation, has sustained the Christian world, and has its source, centre, and head in the temporal power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, may be expressed in the phrase 'Pontiff-King.' The two next schemes are only modifications of the theory of establishment, and may be expressed by the term 'King-Pontiff.' The fourth is the result of the third. Sovereignty is passing rapidly to the people, and Cæsarism is merging itself in democracy. The civil power is the representative of the sovereign people, and it claims to legislate for all religions, and to control at least their public acts. In Pagan Rome all the religions of the world were tolerated, side by side, when truth alone was persecuted. The same will probably be hereafter. The period of indifference may indeed

be only the prelude of the period of persecution. Religions which make no proselytes can abide passively under the shelter of a creedless State. But a religion whose first law is to make disciples of all nations provokes, even in its weakness, the animosity of unbelievers; and in its strength, the persecution of penal laws and their relentless execution. To this society seems drifting. We cannot indeed desire to see the civil power moored to a heresy or a schism by way of retarding its course to this condition, for reasons I will briefly suggest.

It is lastly maintained by a powerful body in this country that all religious communions ought to be placed on a perfect equality before the law. To do this the disestablishment and disendowment of the existing State Churches would follow by necessity; and the civil power would henceforward hold itself neutral and passive in all matters of pure religion, so far as the public peace is not involved.

I have already, I hope, shown that in disestablishing a national Church there is no question of the union of Church and State. No Catholic will admit that the bodies to be disestablished are Churches. Nor can he maintain the lawfulness of founding 'national Churches separate from the Roman Pontiff;' and if it be not lawful to found them, how is it lawful to uphold them?

The Syllabus alone is enough to restrain any Catholic from the defence of established national Churches. Under cover of all these declarations, I will venture to affirm that the disconnection of all re-

ligious bodies from the State in these realms is for our public peace, and for the advantage of religion itself. Forasmuch as the union between Church and State rests upon the providential order, whereby the highest work of the national order, that is, civil society, is united to the highest work of the supernatural order, that is, the Church,—this union is ordained for the elevation, illumination, and direction of the civil or political society by the action of divine truth and law, which is incorporated in the Church.

But for this very reason the union of the State with a heresy or a schism does not elevate, illuminate, and direct it. Nay, it perverts and misdirects the powers and actions of society, and turns them against the truth and law of God. The union of Protestantism with the State has produced two centuries of unexampled persecution of the Catholic faith and Church; and when the State ceased to persecute, it nevertheless kept up, by exclusion, disfranchisement, and unequal dealing, a harassing obstruction to the truth, and cruel spiritual privations against Catholics. To deliver the civil powers from the dominion and perversion of a heresy and a schism, and to restore them to a neutral impartiality, and to a natural equity towards all religious bodies, is a policy evidently wise and just.

If the civil powers are not and cannot be united to the Catholic faith and Church, at least let them no longer be united to a heresy and a schism. The pure state of nature is better than the state of *obsession*. As to disendowment, let us, for clear understanding, go back, in a few words, to first principles. Whatso-

ever the faithful laid at the Apostles' feet became the property of the Church, and was held by a Divine right of possession. The right of holding property in the Church is the highest exemplar of proprietorship. The Church holds by a higher and more perfect title than civil society. The Apostles therefore had the right either to spend or to keep that which the faithful gave. They might exhaust it before sunset, or lay it up for the morrow. The manna, by divine command, was not to be kept till the morrow; if kept, it became corrupt. But the Church does not lay up for the sake of wealth, or from want of confidence in the providence of God, but for a foreseeing care in holding and transmitting its possessions in houses and lands for the benefit of posterity. Endowments are both lawful and beneficial. And yet the Church is ready to forego them in a moment, rather than compromise a principle or endanger an article of faith. Again and again the Church has been sacrilegiously spoiled; and again and again the generosity of the faithful, by the providence of God, has re-endowed it. The Church in Ireland was robbed of everything to enrich the Establishment. But the people of Ireland have endowed it once more. Its poverty with its liberty are a hundredfold more precious than endowment with fetters of gold. The Bishops in Ireland have kindly and charitably refused the endowments of the Establisment. The Catholic Church will take heed for itself, and will trust in the care of its Divine Head. But it may justly demand that the old consecrated property, desecrated now, shall no longer be applied in maintaining the religious

ascendency of error, and of a heresy which both wounds and insults the instincts of a Catholic people, and perpetuates the memory of conquest and confiscation. The disendowment of the Irish Establishment, for I say nothing now about the English, is demanded by bare justice. In the present temper of these kingdoms, the disendowment of the Irish Establishment is also the way of peace. There is but one policy which can tranquillise the religious agitations of Ireland—a perfect equality before the law; and that equality is impossible, so long as five millions of men are unendowed, and half a million absorbs the whole endowment given by our Catholic forefathers for the spiritual welfare of the entire population.

It may, I believe, be safely affirmed that the three bodies which at this time exercise the feeblest religious influence on the masses of these kingdoms are the three Established Churches. In Ireland it is self-evident. In Scotland it is not to be doubted that the religious zeal of the people is to be found, not in the Established Kirk, but in the Free Kirk and the Dissenters. In England the will of the masses is not with the Anglican Establishment, but with the Nonconformists, who number half the population, and with the Catholic Church. If these three bodies were disestablished to-morrow, the effect would be to stimulate their internal energies, and to make them exert all the powers that are in them. The religious forces of the country would be certainly multiplied, and that not in the way of controversy, but in each body or communion upon itself. The three Establishments would

somewhat more adequately do their proper work, and the sum of the religious zeal and activity in the three kingdoms would be increased. If this be so, and it is hardly to be doubted, then the course of public legislation would assuredly not be less Christian. The public opinion of the country would be more so; and the legislature must ultimately be governed by public opinion. It is not my purpose now, and time would forbid me, to trace out the effect of all this upon the Catholic Church in this country. One thing is certain. Relations with a just and equal civil power, detached from all religious establishments, would be possible. Now they are impossible. The undoing of the Tudor statutes is a first condition to the relaxing of the attitude of anti-Catholic hostility which has rendered a peaceful and cordial co-operation of the Catholic Church with the State hitherto impracticable. In Ireland it would unite the pastors of the people with the civil authority, and make that civil authority a beneficent power to their flocks. In England the Catholic Church would stand to the State in relations more normal and fruitful of public good than in any age since the fatal day when the supremacy of kings violated the liberties of conscience and of the Church, and laid the first germs of our persecution in the past and of our contentions at this hour.

Social.
& Progress.

# XI.

## ON PROGRESS.

ADDRESSED TO THE YOUNG MEN'S CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION,
OCTOBER 10, 1871.

## ON PROGRESS.

WHEN a boy, I remember reading a book which had a great name nearly a century ago, in which one of the chapters was headed: 'Our hero talks of what he does not understand.' I have no doubt I shall hear that I am talking of what I do not understand; but in my defence I think I may say, I am about to talk of what I do not understand for this reason: I cannot get those who talk about it to tell me what they mean. I know what I mean by it, but I am not at all sure that I know what *they* mean by it; and those who use the same words in different senses are like men that run up and down the two sides of a hedge, and so can never meet. That perhaps will happen to me in talking about Progress. I have tried all I can to find out some definition or description to give me an idea of what is meant by Progress. The perpetual repetition of the word stuns and deafens us day by day. At the feet of newspaper editors and article-writers, the great teachers of the day—philosophers and sophists are gone—at the feet of these we sit, and hear constantly a great deal about Progress, of which, if I could understand it to be something true and good, I should become one of the preachers; but these apostles of the nineteenth century will not tell us their meaning. They leave

us in a state of blank amazement. I have tried to find some authorities to depend upon, and have found two —one the present Prime Minister of England, who, in a speech in Liverpool four years ago, says that Progress is what the police say to the people on the pavement, 'Move on!' My other authority is the leader of her Majesty's Opposition, who, in one of his books, introduces his hero talking with a stranger from the other side of the Atlantic, who held very cheap our great commercial towns with their machinery and manufactures, saying that they were nothing at all compared with the States. At parting he presents his card to his companion, on which was written, 'Mr. G. O. A. Head.' These are the only two authoritative meanings I can gather from our two political parties as to what Progress means. It is talked of by most people as if it were a Holy Grail of which people are in quest. Some of them spend their lives in great energy to promote Progress; but unfortunately they appear to me to verify what S. Augustin said about men who make great speed after truth without finding the right way to it. He said: You are making great strides, but are out of the road. And when I see people making for Progress in different directions, we are quite sure they cannot all be right. Some people tell us Progress means Liberalism. It is difficult again to know what that is—and when you do get their definition of it, it seems to be the emancipation of the human will from every kind of law. I do not think that is Progress, or that it leads to a good result. Then, again, *plébiscites*, or universal suffrage, are taken to be one of the tokens

of Progress, and the results of *plébiscites* do not seem to me to be the ultimate good of society—at least they are so frequently given in different directions, and one is so speedily necessary to correct another, and build up what another throws down, that neither does this seem to me Progress, unless Progress means perpetual motion, swaying to and fro. Again, we are told that material improvements, such as gas, railroads, and the abolition of intramural burials the other day, come among the evidences of Progress; trades which are what we call roaring trades; steamboats, races between them, with the steam shut in, and excited passengers stamping upon the paddle-boxes—this is taken by some people as evidence of Progress. One thing, however, I see. In every country of Europe there is what is called a 'party of progress,' but, unfortunately, this party of progress has a trail behind it like certain reptiles, and that trail is revolution. We have not, therefore, as yet arrived at a very clear notion of Progress from the popular teachers of the day; I will therefore venture to give my own humble conception of what Progress is.

I will say, then, that Progress with us simple people means the growth and ripening of anything from its first principles to its perfection. We distinguish between Progress which is growth, and Progress which is decay; because decay is the reverse of growth, and it is a departure from first principles. It is the dissolution of perfection; and therefore we distinguish between growth and decay as between ripeness and rottenness—and growth we call progress, but decay we call ruin. Now I want to show what may be classified under pro-

gress or growth, and what under decay or ruin—that is my subject.

The growth of an oak is a very intelligible thing. The acorn planted in the clay strikes its tap-root, then rises into a stem, and spreads into branches; and in the whole tree completes its symmetry, stature, and perfection—this is an example of progress from a germ in nature. But when that oak has attained its maturity, and has run through its period of time, it begins to decay, which reverses this process. The sap sinks to the root, the leaves begin to fall, the sprays wither, the branches decay and fall from the trunk, the rot in the substance of the tree gradually spreads, the trunk becomes hollow, and the tree disappears in dust: this is, then, the reverse of progress. The same is true of every fruit we hold in our hands; so Shakespeare tells us of man:

> 'And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe;
> And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot;
> And thereby hangs a tale.'

Let us apply this to human things, and first to an individual man. The idea of physical progress in man is first of all the growth from childhood to manhood, the complete expansion and development of the whole man in stature, symmetry, strength, and countenance; the whole human being filling up as it were the outline and type which belongs not only to man in general, but to that particular individual—that is what we call Progress. Then there is the moral progress in every man; that is, the progress of his character, which begins in the self-control of the will and in obedience; then in

the rectitude of conduct; and then again in prudence and the whole range of duty, and, finally, in excellence —that is, in surpassing others according to the capacity of that which is in him by nature. For men are not all equal, they are variously endowed, and some have capacities and qualities and energies far beyond others; and each individual has a progress of his own, which means, as I said before, the filling up of that which is not only due to the type of race to which he belongs, but also to his own individual gifts and capacities. In like manner of intellectual progress: there is a passive intellect in us all, which first receives the instruction of teachers, and then becomes an active intellect, whereby we educate and form ourselves; and then that active intellect becomes reflective, and has a power of research and discovery. The whole intellect of the man is thus matured and ripened according to his capacities and circumstances, and that from very small beginnings.

For instance, it is said in the life of S. Gregory VII., the greatest ruler the world ever saw, the loftiest of all legislators, the justest of all judges, and the most intrepid of all Pontiffs, who ruled over the whole Christian world with a sway which for wisdom and fortitude has never been excelled—it is said that in his childhood he was kneeling at the feet of a carpenter who was hewing wood; and the chips, so traditions say, formed themselves into the words from the Book of Psalms, 'He shall reign from sea to sea.' This was taken as an indication of his future, which he fulfilled to the letter. The movement which connected this small beginning with his mighty end was a progress of

the whole man, moral and intellectual. Take also the example of Fergusson, the astronomer, who, when a shepherd's boy, would lie on his back, and with a string of beads over his eye measure the distances or intervals of the stars, and then mark them down with his pencil —this was the beginning of his progress in astronomy. So again take another instance in the familiar anecdote of Nelson, who was perhaps one of the most intrepid and fearless of men. When a boy in Norfolk, he left his father's house, and was lost for the whole day, not coming home till after dark. His father said he wondered fear did not drive him home, upon which the boy asked: 'Who is fear? I do not know him.' I suppose that was the index of his genius, which progressed into the heroic fearless character which is written in history. That is my notion of progress in the individual man— a consistent growth of the same principles from first to last. The next example shall be the progress of a people.

I do not know whether any of you have read Carlyle's *Chartism;* if so, you will find me a plagiarist, but I shall only take his outline, not his words. He says of the British Empire, there was a time when we were Druids; and I recollect that somebody in the House of Commons attacked Mr. Pitt for speaking in favour of the abolition of slavery, on the ground that it was useless to emancipate the negro, for he was of a lower and baser race than the white man; in proof of which it was said that they sold their children into slavery, sacrificed human beings to idols, covered themselves with paint, and I know not what. Mr. Pitt

answered that such was precisely the state of our British ancestors—they painted themselves with woad, sold their children into slavery, and offered human sacrifices under their oaks. There is no doubt there was a time when we were in that unprogressive state. After that came Hengist and Horsa, in their leathern boats, upon the mud of Thanet, and springing from them came the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy, which are described by Milton as 'the flocking and the fighting of crows and kites'—and that was pretty nearly the history of the internecine wars of the seven Saxon kingdoms. After that came an agency which was not of this world—S. Augustin breathed Christianity into the Saxon race. Dioceses, churches, and parishes were formed before the tithings, hundreds, and shires had any existence. Christianity began to shape the community, which, under Alfred, gathered together in one the whole Saxon people; and from Alfred to S. Edward the Confessor England attained a state of high Christian civilisation. It is a history full of luminous beauty. In those days it is said that along the high-roads there were drinking fountains. We of the nineteenth century imagine our drinking fountains to be the last perfection of humane and civilised invention, but our ancestors had them along their roads; and it is said that so strong was the reign of law in that time that a poor mother carrying her child might walk in safety from the Humber to the southern sea. Well, then, Progress had been made since the Druids. After that came the Normans introducing the feudal system of the continental kingdoms, consolidating and strengthening the simpler,

more primitive, and, I may say, pastoral government of the Saxon kings. England became one of the mightiest monarchies of Europe. The three kingdoms were at least united together by the Norman conquest of Ireland and Scotland. This was the first outline of the British Empire. This unity has endured and confirmed itself from that day to this. The civilisation of the Normans was far higher than that of the Saxons. They introduced a refinement and literature and a higher grade of culture. This is to be traced in our language, in which, for the most part, the simple terms describing individual things are Saxon, but the more abstract terms which describe kind and species are from the Norman-French. At least this rule may be so extensively verified in English as to show that a wave of a higher civilisation passed over a lower civilisation and elevated it. After this, from age to age, came the introduction of manufactures. Then commercial towns began to grow: London, which once was surrounded by a single wall with its one tower, has never ceased to grow till it has reached its three millions of men; Liverpool has exceeded in its magnificence the docks of London, which were thought to be the wonder of the world; Glasgow sprang up suddenly into an enormous manufacturing world, with half a million of human beings; and Manchester, which in the memory of living men was a single parish with its parish church, has half a million likewise. I cannot omit to say, in passing, that only the other day a good old venerable Catholic went to her rest in Manchester, who remembered the time when she and her family came to

Manchester and found there a humble priest and eight Catholics. The immigration of her family raised the Catholics of Manchester to seventeen. One poor church, one priest, and a flock of seventeen, was the slender beginning which she lived to see expanded to a diocese. It has now a Bishop, twelve or fourteen magnificent churches, many priests, and 100,000 Catholics. Well, this is an example of progress which I can understand.

In the seventeenth century Great Britain acquired its West Indian colonies, and in the eighteenth century it acquired the East Indies and Canada—it already possessed the plantations of America. It became therefore a colonial empire. The American plantations in the year 1775, by a happy law of progress, began to work out their own independence, and became a vast confederation. The North American Union, the greatest creation of civilised life, perhaps, in the world, sprang from Great Britain. The English tongue has gone with it throughout its whole breadth. The English tongue is more widely spread than any language, and the Anglo-Celtic race covers a wider surface of the earth than any other tongue or people. It may be very well said, then, that those leathern boats, which lay upon the mud of Thanet, brought over with them a very notable burden. When we look at the colonial empire of Great Britain, with England as its heart and centre, at the United States as its offspring and sister, it is true to say that here has been an example of true progress, and progress so grand, that perhaps in the history of the world it cannot be exceeded.

Well, now let me take another example, that is, the progress of Christianity. I will not dwell upon this, because it is so obvious; I need only give its outline. You remember the prophecy of Daniel, of a stone which became a great mountain and filled the earth; and the parable of our Lord, of the mustard-seed which took root and became a great tree. Christianity has fulfilled those two prophecies. If you consider for a moment what the faith was when it was received only by the Jews who believed, what it became when it was spread to the Greeks of the Synagogue—the Jews who spoke the Greek language, and were dispersed abroad—when from them it passed to the pure heathen of the Roman Empire; how the very word 'pagan' signifies 'the peasantry' who lived out in the country, as distinguished from the cities which first became Christian; how Christianity spread itself over the whole mass, like the prophet Eliseus, who communicated his warmth to the body of the dead child, and so communicated the warmth of life to the populations of the world, that they lived with a new and vital spirit; then how over the whole population the Universal Episcopate began to extend its sway, and to organise it into the distinct divisions and flocks which constitute the dioceses and pastoral cure of the Catholic Church; then how the faith and morality of Christianity began to work in domestic life, and how from the homes and families of men it spread into the public life of cities, and how gradually it took possession of Rome, until the world accepted it, and was penetrated through and through with the light of Christianity; how, after that, the

literature and laws, customs, and even the very warfare of the Christian world, was guided and mitigated by the effects of Christianity; how thenceforward the Universal Church spread itself, the line of its Pontiffs continuing unbroken as its supreme rulers, the line of its Councils legislating continuously, from age to age, for the necessities of the world; how, in its office of teacher of faith and judge of morals, the Church has continually governed the Christian nations of the world, and is there still, standing imperishable, immutable, and ever progressive, always extending, always maturing and perfecting the work which it has in hand,—there is the most perfect example of Progress the world has ever seen, or ever will see.

Now let us take an example or two from the progress of science. There was a time when science hardly existed. It began by observation and reflection. A very learned and good man unhappily was lost to us some years ago by a fall from his horse, and a more lamented death among scholars these later days I have hardly known. I mean Whewell, the head of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a man of a powerful, original, mature, and just and scientific mind. He wrote two books which I daresay many who hear me know. The one on the History of the Inductive Sciences, that is to say, the pure and applied sciences, in the true scientific sense of the term; not the chatter we hear about social and historical sciences, which can have no existence. That book, in three volumes, I believe, under correction, to be one of the most solid and precious books of these days. He wrote also two

volumes on the Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, being an analysis of the intellectual processes of those sciences. Those two works trace out the progress of science from its beginning along the line of its advance. For example, he traces in astronomy the earliest observations of the Orientals; and then, how, by gradual discovery, the whole science has been developed; how its periods of observation were followed by periods of demonstration, and these again by periods of deduction, so that the science was always growing in conformity to its first principles, as the acorn into the oak-tree. The intellectual germ was always extending itself. There was a time when this earth was believed to be the fixed centre of all things, the sun revolving round it; and the solar system, as we know it, was supposed to be the whole universe. We know now that the sun, which is the centre of our system, together with all its planets, and they, with all their satellites and comets, are going at a speed which takes our breath away to hear, in the direction of the star $\lambda^{c}$ in the constellation of Hercules. This is true and legitimate progress in science. Take another example. Whewell tells us of the tradition that the first idea of the octave in music sprang up in the mind of a Greek by hearing the constant ring and alternation of hammers beating on an anvil. From this the idea of number, rhythm, and sound, with the distinction of tones, grew in his mind, and the basis of scientific music was laid. In the history of music we read, that in proportion as instruments have been perfected in compass, in that proportion has music been perfected. The organ on

which Handel played had I know not how much less in compass than the organs of the present day. His music therefore was limited. And the sphere and range of music has been perpetually increasing as instruments have been perfected and their sphere enlarged. This again is an example of scientific and true progress. I might take another example in spectrum analysis, or in electricity, with its application to telegraphy, and many other uses, as an instance of true progress.

We will now take an example of progress in political government. The first law of political government in the beginning was club-law; and the way in which people made peace was by beating one another till one party had enough of it. Jurists tell us the first fiction of civil law was government by majority; that is to say, they no longer counted the number of clubs or bruises, but the number of votes; and the vote by majority and minority was taken as sufficient to settle any political controversy, which is at least a more comfortable way of settling a contest. When this mode of government sprang up, immediately there was found something which had the power of tying the hands of tyrants, of limiting the absolutism of despotic government. The very dicta and axioms of law began to change. There was a time when the first principle of law was, 'Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem;' that is, what the prince wills has the force of law; so that the will of the prince was the law of the subject. Well, the introduction of this new theory of putting votes for clubs had a beneficial effect in England, and the dicta and axioms of our lawyers, going back to Brac-

ton and Fleta, were recast. Our ancestors said, 'Lex facit regem,' not 'Rex facit legem.' The law makes the king, not the king makes the law. There came in another idea of government, and that was monarchy limited by law; both by the unwritten customs of the people and the written law made legitimately by the king and his councillors. Well, from this has come gradually what we call self-government; but the government which is municipal and local depends ultimately upon the government of each individual man over himself; and no people are worthy to obtain, or can obtain, self-government, or if they had obtained could keep it, who do not train and discipline themselves, so that they begin by governing themselves before they govern their neighbours. There has been undoubtedly great progress in those things also. One more example I will give, and with that will end this dreary part of the subject; and that shall be Progress in civilisation.

I cannot deny that we are very much better off than when our ancestors smeared themselves with woad; that our manufactures, cheapening good articles of clothing, are a great blessing to everybody, rich and poor. I also think it is much better to live on good wheaten bread than on acorns; and if we cannot grow enough wheat at home, it is a good thing that we are able to import it. Also I think it is better to live in brick houses than in huts of mud and wicker-work; and it is better we should have machinery which will do 10,000 operations with great fineness and power rather than flint knives and burnt sticks. It seems, therefore, that Progress in civilisation as regards food, clothing,

dwellings, and machinery, in the mechanical power of production, transit by railway, and the dynamic powers of machinery—that is, the mechanical powers applied to lift weights, build houses, and transport of goods which no human strength could lift—that all this is a vast progress in the material order. I may say also that the extension of the benefits of all these things, from the rich, or from the classes that might appropriate them to their own enjoyment, to the whole mass of the people, bringing them within the reach of the poor and those standing in greatest need of them—that this is a very just and legitimate idea of Progress. Next I will say that what is called credit in commerce is a notable progress. Trading in kind would be very inconvenient nowadays, if, every time you had to buy a hat, you had to pay for it with a table. Or if every time you had to purchase, it was necessary to put down the cash on the spot, you would have to carry a fortune with you; and if brass money were the chief currency, that would be still more difficult; so that the substitution of a gold and silver currency is a progress in civilisation. But it seems to me that the introduction of the bank-note is much better; and bank-notes never could have existed, if there had not been confidence created between man and man, and recognised by public and social law, which gives value and reality to a piece of paper. Now that would appear to be the result of modern civilisation, because I do not read of it either in Athens or Rome. This example, entirely the creation of a civilised state, I will not put high, but I think it an improvement as it facilitates the transaction of business. Then,

international law, that is, the law which runs from nation to nation, an extension of that domestic law which governs a people singly, by contract and mutual recognition, at last federates together and binds a number of nations in one family; and there arises what is called by lawyers a comity of nations, which means a certain mutually fair and benevolent dealing with one another. Just as charity binds individuals, so nations are bound by justice; and this is a distinction of civilisation which grew and advanced so long as Christian civilisation endured.

I hope that I have given a sufficient number of examples of Progress in our own country, in Christianity, in science, in political government, and in civilisation, to have cleared ourselves at least from the imputation of being opposed to Progress.

Let me sum up what I have said in the first part of my subject in this way: It is a philosophical axiom, a certain truth of the reason, that everything is preserved by the same principles by which it is produced. The oak which springs from the acorn is preserved by the sap and fibre and wood and bark which belong to its kind; you cannot change that nature without destroying its perfection. This is true physically, it is true in science, it is true in moral character, as I will go on to show. Whenever anything grows from its root by the same principles of development to its perfection, it retains its own identity. The oak is always the oak, and Christian society is always Christian society. Another axiom is, that destruction is the change or perversion of the principles by which anything was

produced; if you can change or pervert the principles from which anything springs, you destroy it. For instance, one single foreign element introduced into the blood produces death; one false assumption admitted into science destroys its certainty; one false principle admitted into morals is fatal. As, for example, a portion of the Church separated from the unity of the Church, therefore separated from the principles by which it was first created and preserved, becomes a schism. A state which rejects its own vital laws, which were founded upon reason, justice, and Christianity, becomes an anomaly. A body which has reached maturity, and loses the principle of its animation, becomes dust. The first of these axioms is what I may call the law of progress, the second is the law of decay. We will now consider the latter.

The last part of my subject is that which is opposed to Progress. Let me take as an example the formation of character. I daresay all of you have seen many a youth beginning life with great promise, with piety, faith, conscientiousness, and so growing to manhood; yet there has been about him something which a keen observer has detected, yet feared even to think of, lest he should do him wrong. Just as some magnificent tree suddenly snaps in the night, its strength of stem overmastered by a high wind, because at the heart there was a secret rottenness, unseen without, yet it was there within, and when the pressure came upon the branches the tree went asunder—so it is with many a character. There is some false principle or passion, something within, which, when it is tried, fails. The

piety of boyhood and of youth becomes careless, because there is a germ of sloth, and ends in impiety. Faith has, near its root, some secret germ of doubt, which begins to grow secretly, and at last shows itself in the form of captious objection, and ends in unbelief. Conscientiousness begins to manifest a certain laxity, and ends in acts of dishonour. Here we see what may be called a falling off from the first principles by which the character was formed in the beginning. Apply this, then, to the case of nations.

Take the Republic of Athens, which was cultivated, intellectually, morally, scientifically, and politically, to a very high degree, which established a colonial empire, and I may say a dominion over the Greek race. It rose to a very high point of civilisation. It then became a luxurious and licentious democracy, and began at once to decay. Rome in like manner had what its people called the *prisca virtus*, that old austerity of virtue, which carried the sway of its Republic over the whole earth. When it began to be luxurious and corrupt, an imperial tyranny was established over it. Thenceforward it went to pieces age after age, with the greatest havoc ever made on earth. Spain was a noble, Christian, and austere people, until by successful commerce, and the mines of the New World, it was inundated with gold. Among the causes of Spain's decline the enormous influx of gold has a chief place. It brought on a relaxation of industry, a carelessness and luxuriousness of life, a disposition to live on acquired wealth, which paralysed the energy of the people. Here, again, we find the principles of the

nation's greatness discarded, and its greatness lost. Take the example of the Christian world as distinct from the Church. Always remember, when we speak of the Christian world, that the Christian world and the Christian Church are two different things. The Christian Church existed before the Christian world, and created it. The Christian world may go to pieces, and it seems at this moment to be on the breakers; but the Church will remain in all its vigour and plenitude of light and power until its Divine Head comes again. The Christian world is everywhere divided; and because divided, it is in perplexity and conflict everywhere. We hear Christian men complaining and contending about 'the religious difficulty.' They cannot act together or educate their children together, because of the religious difficulty. Do you know what the religious difficulty is? It is not the Catechism, it is not the Thirty-nine Articles—it is God, the truth of God, and the will of God. Because some men have determined to interpret the truth of God in their own fashion, and to reject everything else, and because others reject God altogether, therefore they can find no common basis upon which to educate or to legislate, without shutting out God, His truth and will, from the four corners of an Act of Parliament. Here we have an example of the abandonment of those principles upon which the progress of the Christian civilisation of the world was made.

Modern civilisation, then, is civilisation without Christianity. It is perfect when the religious difficulty is eliminated and excluded from the progress of man,

intellectual, moral, and political. Take for example France, which has been for eighty years leading the way in modern civilisation. A more refined people, a people more exquisite in the cultivation of the arts and sciences of the natural order, is not to be found; but a people more incoherent in political life, more wanting in the power of permanent combination, more stricken as it were with the impossibility of adhering together in any one constant form of civil government, can hardly be found in history. That noble people, full of intelligence and of genius, because it has abandoned the first principles which formed the great French monarchy of a thousand years, and has substituted in their place the shallow theories that are called the principles of '89, that majestic people has reduced itself for a time to an instability so great, that within the memory of living men it has had two empires, three republics, three kings dethroned, seventeen constitutions, and six or seven revolutions. The present state of that noble country is such, that we may justly take it as an example of the dissolution which follows upon the loss of those first principles from which Christian society springs, and by which alone Christian society can be preserved.

Let us now take England. England in the last three hundred years has been departing from those principles by which its progress was originally impelled, and by which that progress has been preserved. I will only touch upon three points. Three hundred years ago a legal Church was set up, which covered the whole country, and, excepting only the faithful

Catholics who refused it, and a handful of dissenters, contained the whole population of England. At this moment the population of England has outgrown that legal religion by one-half its number. Next there was a political Constitution of Church and State set up at that day which spread itself over the whole Anglican population. The population has outgrown the Constitution; and, therefore, some twenty or thirty years ago we were perpetually hearing about Chartism, and now in these days we are hearing of trades-unions, political unions, strikes among trades,—the masses of the people uniting together to accomplish, by combination against capital, that which the law of the land ought to do for them. Lastly, the effect of these and other causes is that one-half of the people of England have outgrown Christianity, they have passed beyond the moral restraints of Christianity, they have become materialised. They are not atheists, not infidels. It is not by the act of their own will; it is the pressure, and I may say the tyranny, of events or the logic of facts, of which we hear so much, that has robbed them of their inheritances of faith and culture. And this because the first principles of Christian civilisation, which created the mature Commonwealth of England, were violated three hundred years ago.

I was going to take next the example of the United States, but I will not venture upon any judgment of its state. In talking of England I am always willing to give hard knocks. Englishmen like it. They give

us the privileges of sons and brothers; and we may say what we like about England, if we say it filially—I trust I never do otherwise. But of the New World I do not venture so freely to speak. I trust that in the United States good care will be taken of the faith, I mean of Christianity, of Christian education, of morals, of domestic life, and of strong-minded women—a race now rising among ourselves, and, with all good-will towards them, I hope they will be benignly kept in order. I hope that in the United States there will be great care taken to exclude political ambition and faction. About fifteen years ago I read what I believe to be an authentic statement—that a number of leading politicians and statesmen of America, of highest name and note, met together to consider the condition of the United States. It was before the war, when there were already many causes of anxiety. It was said that there was a universal and growing license of the individual will, and that law and government were powerless to restrain it; that if the will of the multitude became licentious, it would seriously threaten the public welfare and liberty of the country. The conclusion they came to was, that unless there could be found some power which could restrain the individual will, this danger would at last seriously menace the United States. Now I think we are all ready to say what that power is. It is the power which created the Christian society of the world. Whensoever it is weakened or lost, immediately all political society decays. I hope it may be restored and long retained in the American Union. I hope too

that the prophecy of Bishop Berkeley may be abundantly fulfilled in America:

> 'Westward the course of empire takes its way,
> The first four acts already past;
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last.'

I hope there is a future for America which will verify this prophecy; but I am confident it cannot be, unless those first principles of Christian civilisation which have created and maintained the Progress of the Christian world shall be restored and preserved.

Now I shall be asked what those principles are; and I will enunciate them as quickly as I can. First, they are the laws of God in nature and revelation. They are the laws of God in nature; that is, the reason rightly cultivated, the conscience rightly directed; the four cardinal virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; *the law*, that is, recognition of a rule and duty of obedience to the law. The idea of law is the foundation of all civil society, and the rule of the conscience and conduct of men. Second, the principles of God's law in Revelation, the Ten Commandments, a very old code, and very much forgotten; the twelve articles of the Creed, very much disliked by those who talk of the religious difficulty; the unity of the Christian Church, and *its authority*. Thirdly, the laws of man made by rulers and legislatures when conformable to those of God. And so long as legislatures and governments conform themselves and their laws to the law of God, then there is progress. I utterly deny there is progress when they depart from it.

What, then, are the principles that convert progress to decay? The violation of God's laws, their perversion, and their privation or loss. I had put down a number of examples, but I have looked at my watch, and see I must not go on. Therefore I can only give one single example, which is the most fresh and vivid at this moment.

We have heard a great deal of the Munich Conference; well, now, this revolt is nothing new. Another, precisely the same, happened at the beginning of this century. In the year 1801, on the 15th August, Pope Pius VII. issued an apostolic letter, whereby, by the supreme authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, he extinguished the whole existing episcopate in France, subdivided anew all the dioceses, and thus created a new hierarchy over the whole of the country. At once, a certain number of men, in whom the Gallican spirit was strong,—I have no doubt many were conscientious and good men, but they had admitted one false principle, which, as I said, like one single globule of foreign matter in the blood is fatal,—absolutely refused obedience, separated themselves from the Catholic Church, and set up what was called the *Petite Eglise*. This little Church consisted of a considerable number of bishops, priests and laity. The last bishop of the *Petite Eglise* submitted himself to the Catholic Church in the year 1829, and died in peace. But this separation is not yet extinct. In the year 1865, when I was at Poictiers, the Bishop told me that he had some 5000 of the members of this little Church in his diocese, who had no priests, no sacraments, no churches;

nevertheless, that they baptised their own children, and met, from time to time, to say prayers and the Rosary together. They are dying out. Yet they began with a number of bishops; but they had no succession, and they are now ceasing to exist.

What is now happening at Munich? The Holy Father, in the Vatican Council, issued last year the Constitution *Pastor Æternus*, whereby the infallibility of the Head of the Church was defined. The *Times* newspaper says all the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church have accepted it, 'having been fairly caught and safely landed in the great Vatican net.' Well, this was too much for the professors of Germany. They are an estate in the intellectual realm of Germany, and the consequence has been what you may have read in the newspapers. Some 500 men from all countries have met together. The names of the chief leaders from foreign countries have been mentioned in the papers, except only the English deputies. Who deputed them? Whom did they represent? I wish the names had been published, as we should know more easily how to deal with them. As it is, I can only say that every man who has participated in that Munich Congress is either directly, explicitly, or implicitly excommunicated and incapable of Sacraments. However, this Congress did a great many things. It has resolved to begin a system of parishes and public worship with priests, the greater part of whom have been suspended, and are incapable of officiating in the Catholic Church. It is a curious thing that the *Petite Eglise*, of which I spoke at first, commenced their schism upon the re-

jection of the plenitude of the supreme authority of the Head of the Church in matter of jurisdiction and discipline. These Munich separatists are committing schism by rejecting the plenitude of the doctrinal authority of the Head of the Church in matter of faith. That is to say, these two schisms are made precisely on the same ground: the plenitude of the primacy in jurisdiction and doctrinal authority; with what result, time is to show. In the mean while we have the authority of the *Times* newspaper for saying that the great difficulty with them is, that, though they have some laymen and some priests, they have no bishop.

'Here,' says the *Times*, 'are 500 professors, priests, and laymen, founding and constituting a Church—old, say they; new, says Rome—and, as it were at the last moment, they find they must have bishops to keep it going. They will beg, borrow, or steal one. Are not bishops to be found somewhere? We, nevertheless, are sure that not even an English 'colonial,' not even a suffragan, not even a Scottish bishop, without clergy, churches, or people, would hire himself out to keep up the breed of Old Catholics at Munich.'

The broad English common sense of the *Times* has saved it. It goes on to say: 'The last words in the description which our correspondent, who was present, gives of the last public meeting have, we suspect, a prophetic import. The assemblage was vast for Catholic Munich; the city was much stirred up by the strangeness of the event; but when all was over the impression left on the public was "that much more remained to be done." All Englishmen must feel that.

It is a common thing to find men who retain the shell, as it were, of old conviction; who live by old habit and use the words they did in their youth; but whose inner nature, indeed, whose leading principles, are bursting these bonds. The programme before us we venture to pronounce utterly inconsistent in spirit with the conservative part of its doctrinal propositions.'

Here is good sense. Further on, the *Times*, with the accuracy of a Catholic theologian, speaking of the Munich Congress, continues: 'It retains the decrees of the Council of Trent, including all former Councils, but re-opens—and, indeed, compels the re-opening of—every controversy which that Council was summoned to close. "A dogma," it says, "to be valid, must be in accordance with Holy Writ and the old traditions of the Church, such as they have been conveyed to us in the writings of the recognised Fathers and the decrees of the Councils." Then, having said this, it proceeds to point out that even were a council really œcumenical, it would be powerless against essential truth and history; nay, that no unanimity could confer validity on its decrees. The congress, some here will think, avows an intention to look still further ahead. It sets out boldly on the road of science and progressive Christian culture; it insists that the clergy shall be theologians, and also admitted freely to the culture of the century. This must all mean something, and most people will understand it better than the dogmatic portion of the programme. Which of the two conflicting portions will survive the other on German soil is a question on

which our English readers will not be long in making up their minds.'

I must pass over much more that I had meant to say, and sum up in these words: We do not oppose any true material, scientific, social, or political progress. The reiterated and persistent way in which people say we are opposed to progress is cant. They who can believe it to be so are superstitious—they ought to believe in hobgoblins; and perhaps they do. Well, then, my general conclusion is, that the Church is progressing, and always will progress, in strength, truth, unity of faith, in the self-evidence by which it proves itself to the world. Secondly, that nations are departing from the principles which created their civilisation. Thirdly, that civilisation is becoming every day more and more material. I shall keep you till midnight if I go on. Look for proofs of what I say in any work on political economy; or in the production and use of wealth, its enjoyment, luxury, and the consequences of luxury, visible all around us. Fourthly, that this material civilisation, while more and more material, is becoming less and less moral. Fifthly, that therefore this modern civilisation is for this reason not progressive, because the nations are not growing happier, nor purer in their morals, nor more united in the charities of life. Sixthly, that society is not becoming more solid, more safe, more stable; that, on the contrary, the reverse of all these things is indubitably true and visible before our eyes. Seventhly, that individuals are becoming more anarchical, the intellect more licentious, the wills

of man more stubborn; and this self-will expresses itself in their actions, so that it is true to say that the principles upon which the Christian world was founded, and by which it has hitherto been preserved, have been rejected and are being violated on every side. The Christian world therefore is not progressing, but is going back. Finally, civilisation like everything else cannot stand still: *non progredi est regredi;* not to go onward is to go backward; and therefore it is that the Holy Father, when he condemned in the Syllabus the proposition, 'that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile and adjust himself to Progress, Liberalism, and Modern Civilisation,' condemned a great error, and proclaimed a great truth. There is no hope for either man or society, but to go back to the feet of the only true Legislator, who said, 'Come unto Me: take My yoke upon you; for My yoke is easy and My burden is light.'

§ Socrates.

## XII.

## THE DÆMON OF SOCRATES.

# THE DÆMON OF SOCRATES.

A Paper read before the Royal Institution, January 26, 1872.

At the outset I must plead guilty to a misnomer, for which, however, I am not responsible. It has become a tradition to speak of the Dæmon of Socrates; but I hope to show that the term is without warrant and incorrect.

The Dæmon of Socrates has been treated so often, and by so many authors, historians, philosophers, and critics, both in classical and Christian times, that I, at least, cannot hope to say anything new upon it. I may, however, review the judgments of others, and then offer what seems to me to be the true interpretation of this singular fact in the history of philosophy.

It will, I think, be found to be no mere intellectual eccentricity, no mere superstition, still less an unmeaning record of Greek history, but a fact in the psychology of the greatest philosophical mind of the ancient world, full of significance for us, and throwing much light upon the analysis of our moral nature.

The life of Socrates extended over a tract of seventy years, that is from 469 to 400 B.C., and embraced the most critical and splendid period of Athenian history. During his lifetime, Athens rose to the height of its

imperial hegemony over the states and islands and colonies of Greece; at the time of his death its decline was already far advanced. It was the period of the final victories over the Persians, and also of the Peloponnesian contests. In his day the Constitution of Athens passed from its aristocratic period to the conflicts of democracy and oligarchy, which completed its fall. In politics, it was the time of Pericles, and of the statesmen formed by him; in philosophy, of the Hylozoists, the Atomists, and the Metaphysical or Theological Philosophers (so ably described here last year by Professor Blackie), and also of the Sophists: in poetry, of Sophocles and Aristophanes; and in arts, of Phidias.

In the midst of all these splendours of imperial greatness, intellectual culture, excessive refinement, luxurious self-indulgence, public and private immorality, Socrates arose as a cross-questioner of men, a seeker after moral truth, an example and a teacher of temperance and justice. There is something majestic and melancholy in his account of himself, and of his mission, as he declared it in his Apology before his judges.

He was accused by Meletus and Anytus of corrupting the youth of Athens by philosophical paradoxes, and of introducing new gods, or of denying all gods. In answer he spoke as follows:

'If you should say to me, "Ø Socrates, we will not believe Anytus. We will let you off; but on this condition—that you no longer go on with this questioning and philosophising; and if you should be caught again doing this, you shall die;"—if, as I

said, you should acquit me on these conditions, I should say to you, Ø men of Athens, I reverence you and I love you, but I shall obey God rather than you. As long as I breathe, and am able, I shall not cease to philosophise, and to exhort you, and to demonstrate (the truth) to whomsoever among you I may light upon, saying, in my accustomed words, "How is it, O best of men, that you, being an Athenian, and of a city the greatest and noblest for wisdom and power, are not ashamed to be careful of money, studying how you can make the most of it, and of glory also and of honour; but of prudence, and truth, and the soul, how you may make the best of these, have neither care nor thought?" And this I will do, to young and old, whomsoever I may meet; both to alien and citizen, and, above all, to the men of this city, inasmuch as you are nearer to me in kindred. For this is the command of God, as you well know; and I think that no greater good ever yet came to the State than this service which I render to God. For I go about doing nothing else than to persuade you, both young and old, to be careful in the first place neither of the body, nor of money, nor of anything so earnestly as of the soul, how you may make it as perfect as possible. I tell you that virtue does not spring from money, but that from virtue money springs, and all other goods of man, both to the individual and to the commonwealth. If, then, to teach these things be to destroy our young men, that would be mischievous in me indeed. But if any one should say I teach anything other than these truths, he speaks falsely. Moreover, I say, O Athenians, whether

you believe Anytus or not, and whether you let me go or not, I shall never do anything else, even though I were to die many times.[1]

'Do not clamour, O Athenians, but abide by the request I made to you—that is, not to clamour at what I am saying, but to hear me. For you will be benefited, I believe, by hearing me. I am about to say to you some things at which, perhaps, you will cry out; but I pray you not to do so. For you know well, if you should kill me, being such a one as I say I am, you will not hurt me so much as you will hurt yourselves. Neither Meletus nor Anytus can any way hurt me. This cannot be. For I do not think that it is ever permitted that a better man should be hurt by a worse. Perhaps, indeed, he may kill him, or drive him into exile, or disfranchise him; and these things perhaps he and others may think to be great evils. But I do not think so; much rather the doing that which he (Meletus) is now about—the laying hands on a man to kill him unjustly—is a great evil. But, O Athenians, I am far from making now a defence for myself, as some may think; [I am making it] in your behalf; lest by condemning me you should in anything offend in the matter of this gift which God has given you. For if you should kill me, you will not easily find another man like me, who, to speak in a comic way, is so precisely adapted by God to the State; which is like a horse, large and well-bred, but from its very size sluggish, and needing to be roused by a gad-fly. For

[1] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 17; *Platonis Opp.* vol. i. p. 114, ed. Stallbaum, Gothæ, 1858.

so it seems to me, that the God has applied me, such as I am, to the State, that I may never cease to rouse you, and persuade and shame every one, fastening upon you everywhere all day long. Such another will not easily come to you, O men of Athens; and if you will listen to me, you will spare me. But perhaps, as those who awake in anger when they are stung, you will, at the instigation of Anytus, kill me at once with a slap; then you will end the rest of your life in sleep, unless God shall send some other gad-fly to be mindful of you. But that I am such a one, given by God to the State, you may know from this fact: it is not like the way of men that I, now for so many years, should have disregarded all my own concerns, and should have endured the neglect of my own domestic affairs, and should have been ever busied about your interests; going about to each of you privately, as a father or an elder brother, persuading you to be careful of virtue. If indeed I had derived any enjoyment from these things, and for these exhortations had received any reward, there would have been some reason in it. But now you yourselves see that the accusers, charging me as they do, without shame, of other things, of this at least have not been able to bring a witness against me; as if I had ever either exacted or asked any reward. I think, moreover, that I adduce a sufficient witness that I speak the truth—I mean my poverty.'[2]

'It may perhaps appear strange that I should go to and fro, giving advice, and busying myself about these things in private, but that in public I should not ven-

[2] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 18, p. 118.

ture to go up (*i.e.* to the Pnyx) to give counsel to the State before your assembly. But the cause of this is what you have heard me say often and in many places: that a voice is present with me—a certain agency of God, somewhat divine (δαιμόνιον)—which indeed Meletus has caricatured and put into the indictment. Now this began with me from my childhood; a certain voice, which always, when it comes, turns me aside from that which I am about to do, but never impels me to do anything. It is this which opposed my mixing in polities, and I think very wisely. For you well know, O Athenians, that if I had been hitherto mixed in political matters, I should have perished long ago, and should have done no good, either to you or to myself. Do not be angry with me for speaking the truth; for there is no man who will save his life, if he shall courageously oppose either you or any other populace, by striving to hinder the multitude of unjust and lawless things which are done in the State. It is necessary, therefore, that any one who really combats for the sake of justice, if he would survive even for a little while, should live a private and not a public life.'[3]

When Socrates had ended his defence, the votes were taken: first, he was condemned as guilty of the charges laid against him; and secondly, he was sentenced to die. He then once more addressed the court.

'I would wish to speak kindly with those who have voted for me, in respect to what has now happened, while the archons are occupied, and before I go to the place where I must die. Bear with me, therefore, O

[3] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 19, p. 123.

Athenians; for such time as we have. While it is so permitted, nothing forbids our conversing together. I wish to show to you, as my friends, what is the meaning of that which has now befallen me. O my judges—for in calling you judges I should call you rightly—something marvellous has happened to me. Hitherto, the Oracle of the δαιμόνιον, which is familiarly about me, with great frequency has opposed itself, even in very little things, if I were about to act in any way not rightly. But now there has befallen me, as you yourselves see, that which men may think, and most men do account, to be the greatest of evils. And yet this morning, neither when I came from home did the sign from the God oppose itself, nor when I came up hither to the court of judgment, nor anywhere during the defence I was about to make; although in other speeches it has often restrained me in the very midst of speaking. But now in this affair it has not anywhere opposed me, either in any deed or word. What, then, do I suppose to be the cause? I will tell you. That which has happened to me seems to be a good thing; and if we think death to be an evil, we are in error. Of this I have a sure evidence; for it cannot be that the accustomed sign would not have opposed itself to me if I were not about to do something which is good.'[4]

'Wherefore, O my judges, you ought to be of good hope about death, and to know this to be true—that no evil can happen to a good man, whether in life or in death; nor are his affairs neglected by the gods. Nor

[4] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 31, p. 164.

are my affairs at this time the result of chance. But this is clear to me—that it were better for me now to die, and to be set free from troubles. Wherefore the sign has in nothing opposed me. I am, therefore, in no way angry with those who have condemned me, nor with those who have accused me; though they have condemned and accused me with no good will, but rather with the thought to hurt me. This, indeed, in them is worthy of blame.'[5]

Such was his general defence against his accusers. He stood up as a man conscious of something in him higher than himself—of a calling and a mission to his countrymen. He had laboured to recall them from luxury, self-indulgence, ambition, civil strife, political profligacy, and private corruption. He told them roundly that no man could serve them who mixed in their politics—that no man could rebuke their corruptions and live.

Therefore it was that Meletus and Anytus accused him; and their accusation was the expression of a wide-spread enmity in Athens.

The charges laid against Socrates were chiefly two: the one, that of corrupting the youth of the day by his philosophy; the other, that of impiety, and of introducing new gods, ἕτερα καινὰ δαιμόνια, or of denying the existence of gods. It is with the latter we have chiefly to do, because it connects itself with the belief of Socrates in respect to the Dæmonion, or voice, or sign, which from his childhood had been with him as a monitor and guide.

[5] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 33, p. 172.

In answer to the charge of atheism, Socrates asked his accuser: 'Is there any man who believes that there are human affairs, but does not believe in the existence of men; or that there are certain rules for managing horses, and yet believes that there is no such thing as a horse? There is no such man. But pray answer me this point: is there any man who believes divine things and yet denies the being of a God?' Meletus answered, 'No, certainly.' Then Socrates replied, 'You acknowledge, then, that I believe and teach the existence of deities. So that, whether they be new or old, you still own that I believe in divinities or divine agencies. Now if I believe that there are divinities or divine agencies, I must necessarily suppose that there are gods.'[6]

In these passages of Plato we have the fullest and most explicit declaration of Socrates respecting the Dæmon by which he was admonished. He tells us that it was 'a familiar sign, an oracle, a divine voice;' that this sign had been with him from his infancy; that its office was to take him off from certain lines of action; that it did not impel him to any.

With such declarations before him, it is not wonderful that Plutarch should have supposed this Dæmon to be a personal being; and that he should have written a book (*De Genio Socratis*) on the familiar spirit of Socrates; and that Apuleius should have written *De Deo Socratis*—of the God of Socrates; and that the Neoplatonists and certain of the Christian Fathers should have understood this Dæmonion to be a per-

[6] *Apologia Socratis*, s. 15, p. 105.

sonal being or genius: whether good or bad they did not determine.

Plutarch has not promoted either the perspicuity or the gravity of the subject by telling us that a voice in the Cave of Trophonius expounded to Timarchus the philosophy of dæmons in the following words: 'Every soul partakes of reason. It cannot be without reason and intelligence. But so much of each soul as is mixed with flesh and passions is changed, and through pain or pleasure becomes irrational. Every soul does not mix itself in the same manner. For some plunge themselves altogether into the body, and so in this life their whole frame is corrupted by appetite and passion; others are mixed only in part, but the purer part still remains out of the body. It is not drawn down into it; but it floats above and touches the upper part of a man's head. It is like a cord to hold up and direct the part of the soul which is sinking, as long as it proves obedient, and is not overcome by the passions of the flesh. The part that is plunged into the body is called the soul; but the uncorrupted part is called the mind, and people think that it is within them: as likewise they imagine the image reflected from a glass is in the glass. But the more intelligent, who know it to be external, call it a dæmon.'[7]

'Such was the soul of Hermodorus the Clazomenian, of which it is reported that for nights and days it would leave his body, travel over many countries, and return, after it had seen things and talked with persons at

[7] Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, sect. 22; *Moralia*, tom. i. p. 713, ed. Dœhner, Paris, 1841.

a great distance; till at last, by the treachery of his wife, his body was delivered to his enemies, and they burnt it in his own house while the soul was abroad.' Plutarch considerately adds, 'It is certain that this is not true;' but he goes on to say, 'The soul never went out of the body, but it loosened the tie that held the dæmon, and gave it range and freedom.'[8]

Plutarch then relates the following anecdote: 'More and greater things you may learn from Simias, and other companions of Socrates; but once, when I was present, as I went to Euthyphron the soothsayer, it happened—Simias, as you remember—that Socrates was going up to Symbolum, and the house of Andocides, all the way asking questions, and playfully attacking Euthyphron. When, suddenly standing still, and making us to do the same, he pondered with himself for some time. Then, turning about, he walked through Trunk-makers' Street, calling back his friends that walked before him, affirming that it was because of his dæmon. Many turned back, amongst whom I, holding Euthyphron, was one; but some of the youths, keeping on the straight road, in order, as it were, to disprove the dæmon of Socrates, took along with them Charillus the piper, who came with me to Athens to see Cebes. Now, as they were walking through Sculptors' Street, near the court-houses, a herd of pigs, covered with mud, met them; and being too many for the street, and running against one another, they upset some that could not get out of the way, and dirtied others; and Charillus came home with his legs and clothes very muddy; so that

[8] *De Genio Socratis*, sect. 22.

often, in merriment, they would remember Socrates' dæmon, wondering at its constant care of the man, and that Heaven kept such a particular watch over him.'[9]

'I myself, Galaxidorus, have heard a Megarian, who had it from Terpsion, say that Socrates' dæmon was nothing else but the sneezing either of himself or of others; for if another sneezed, either before, behind him, or on his right hand, then he went on to do what he was about; but if on the left hand, he refrained from acting. One sort of his own sneezing confirmed him, whilst deliberating and not fully resolved; another stopped him when already about to act. But indeed it seems strange that if he used sneezing as his sign, he should not have told this to his friends, but should have said that it was a dæmon that hindered or enjoined him.'[10]

The following passage is more to our purpose. Plutarch says: 'The resolute impulses of Socrates seem to be both vigorous and firm, as springing from right principles and strong judgment. Therefore he, of his own will, lived in poverty all his life, though he had friends who would have been glad and willing to give to him; he would not give up philosophy, notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with; and at last, when his friends endeavoured and skilfully contrived his escape, he would not yield to their entreaties, nor withdraw from death, but maintained an inflexible mind in the last extremity. And surely these are not the actions of a man whose designs, when once fixed, could be altered by omens or sneezings; but of one who,

[9] *De Genio Socratis*, sect. 10. [10] Ibid. sect. 11.

by some higher guidance and principle, is directed to do right.'[11]

Plutarch then says that Socrates foretold the overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily; and that in the pursuit at Delium he, with Alcibiades and Laches escaped by Registe, while others who would not follow him were overtaken and slain. This caused the dæmon of Socrates to be much talked of in Athens.

We may now dismiss these speculations, and come back to Socrates, and learn from himself what he understood and intended us to understand by his Dæmon or Dæmonion.

But here again we are brought to a standstill. We cannot interrogate Socrates himself. We can only get at him by hearsay. Between him and us, stand Xenophon and Plato. It is, after all, Xenophon and Plato, not Socrates, who speak to us. Worse than this, Xenophon and Plato do not agree in what they tell us; and, worst of all, what they tell us evidently takes form and colour from their own minds. It may recall to us Sir Walter Scott's description in *Kenilworth* of Blount and Raleigh sitting on the bench in the hall at Say's Court. They were both looking in silence at the wall. The bluff old soldier looked at the wall and saw the wall, and nothing but the wall; but between the wall and the eye of Sir Walter Wittypate there was a whole imaginary world, with an endless procession and maze of persons and things of his own creation.

The Socrates of Xenophon stands out clear, hard, definite; a matter-of-fact description, a photograph with

[11] *De Genio Socratis*, sect. 9.

few after-touches, with little sense that anything needs explanation, or could have any meaning but the letter of the text. The Socrates of Plato comes to us through the prisms of his marvellous imagination; so as to create a misgiving whether it be a conscientious likeness or a portrait by the hand of an artist and a friend, too creative and too fond to be faithful.

Nevertheless, we are reduced to those two biographers. They are the only full and trustworthy witnesses in close personal contact with the man whom they describe.

We will endeavour, then, to ascertain what they understood by the Dæmon of Socrates. This will at least give the best approximation to what Socrates understood by it himself.

In order to do this, we will first take down their evidence as they give it, and next compare the two testimonies; and lastly, make an estimate of their differences.

When this is done we may use our own criticism: for it is one thing to ascertain what Socrates may have understood, it is another to ascertain what we may understand by the psychological facts narrated by him or by them. It is not to be too hastily assumed that Socrates was an adequate interpreter of the internal facts even of his own mind. It is not unreasonable to believe that the philosophical and other profounder experience of two thousand years may have enabled us more truly than he could to analyse and to appreciate the facts and phenomena of moral and mental philosophy. The heart has beat, and the blood has cir-

culated, from the beginning of time; yet we take the physiology of Harvey as to the blood, rather than that of Hippocrates. The Ethics even of Aristotle are, in analytical depth and precise delineation, conspicuously in advance of the method and teaching of Socrates. In this the disciple is above his master, and we may be above both.

Let us begin, then, with Xenophon. The chief passages in which he describes the Dæmonian are as follows:

'It was in the mouths of men that Socrates declared that the Deity or Dæmonion (τὸ δαιμόνιον) made things known to him, or gave him signs by which to know them.'[12]

'He used to say that the Dæmonion signified (things) to him; and that he often advised those who were with him to do some things, and not to do others, as the Dæmonion forewarned him.'[13]

'For he thought that the Gods (τοὺς Θεοὺς) had care of men in a way unlike that which most men imagine: for they suppose that the Gods know indeed some things, and do not know others. But Socrates believed the Gods to know all things—whatsoever things are said, or done, or purposed in secret; and that they are everywhere present; and that they make known human things to men.'

When Hermogenes sorrowfully upbraided him for not defending himself more elaborately, and for even provoking his judges against him, Socrates answered: 'Of a truth, Hermogenes, when I set to work to think

[12] *Xenoph. Mem.* lib. i. c. 1, s. 1, Oxon. 1785. [13] Ibid. s. 4.

out my defence before the judges the Dæmonion hindered me.'[14]

Finally, Xenophon says of him that he was 'so pious that he would do nothing without the counsel of the Gods.'[15]

Such, then, is the evidence of Xenophon; upon which these remarks may be made:

1. That Xenophon carefully distinguishes between the Dæmon of Socrates, which he calls *τὸ δαιμόνιον*, and the Gods, whom he calls *τοὺς Θεούς*.

2. That he describes the Dæmonion as showing beforehand what things are to be done, and what not to be done: that is to say that the action of this monitor was both to enjoin and to forbid.

3. That he refers this admonition and direction to the Gods, without whose counsel (*γνώμη*) Socrates would never act.

4. That nothing in Xenophon is to be found which invests the Dæmonion with personality, or with any other character than that of a divine influence or agency, or a counsel or direction of the Gods acting upon the reason of man.

We will now proceed to our other witness.

The chief passages of Plato bearing on the Dæmonion are those which we have already quoted from the Apology. They need not be repeated.

To these may be added what follows.

In the *Euthydemus*, Socrates says: 'I happened to be providentially sitting alone in the place where you saw me, in the dressing-room (of the Lycæum), and

[14] *Xenoph. Mem.* lib. iv. c. 8, s. 3. [15] Ibid. s. 4.

I had in my mind to be gone. When I got up, the accustomed sign, the Dæmonion, came; I therefore again sat down.'[16] Soon after came Euthydemus and his companions.

Again, in the *Phædrus*: 'When I was about to cross the river, the Dæmonion, the accustomed sign, came, which restrains me when I am about to do anything; and I seemed to hear a certain voice which did not suffer me to proceed until I should have expiated myself, as having in some way offended against God.'[17]

And in the *Alcibiades*, he says: 'The cause of this was nothing human, but a certain divine hindrance, the power of which you shall hereafter hear; but now, as it no longer hinders me, I am therefore come, and I am in good hope that for the future it will not hinder me.'[18]

In the *Theætetus*, he says: 'The Dæmonion which comes to me hinders my intercourse with some, and not with others.'[19]

And in the *Republic*: 'It is not worth while to speak of the divine sign which comes to me, whether it have occurred to any other or not.'[20]

I do not quote from the *Theages*, in which there is much on the point, for two reasons. First, doubts have been raised as to its authenticity; and secondly, the statements contained in it may be found also in other dialogues of which there is no doubt.

Now in these passages we have the following points:

[16] *Euthydemus*, 273, vol. vi. 80, ed. Stallbaum, Gothæ, 1836.
[17] *Phædrus*, 242, vol. iv. 72.
[18] *Alcibiades*, 103, vol. v. 221.
[19] *Theætetus*, 151, vol. viii. 71.
[20] *De Republica*, lib. vi. s. 496.

1. That the Dæmonion is spoken of as *θεῖον τί*, *δαιμόνιον*, *σημεῖον*, *φωνή*, and *εἰωθυῖα τοῦ δαιμονίου μαντική*: something divine, something of the Deity, a sign, a voice, the accustomed divination or oracle of the Deity. It is evident, therefore, that Plato represents it as an agency or a voice, not as an agent or a person; and if the agent or person from whom this agency or voice proceed be sought for, it is to be found in God or in the Gods.

2. That the function of this agency or voice was to check, to hinder, and to restrain, not to suggest or to prompt to any line of action.

3. That it manifested itself in such apparently fortuitous events as the hindering the departure of Socrates from the Lycæum till Euthydemus came; and *πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς*, even in the least things: that is to say, its function was to forewarn or to check in matters not so much of right and wrong as of safety, or of expediency, or of good fortune.

Comparing these two testimonies of Xenophon and Plato we find:

1. That they agree as to the impersonal nature of the Dæmonion. The terms used by them signify, at the utmost, a divine agency or a divine voice; they do not signify the presence or attendance of a divine person or of a familiar spirit.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful that some of the ancients should have so misunderstood their language, and that Socrates should have been accused of introducing new deities. The same charge was in like manner made against the Apostle at Athens, because

he preached the Resurrection, *τὴν ἀνάστασιν*. Nevertheless Cicero understood Plato's language, and translated the Dæmonion by *divinum aliquid*.

It is to be borne in mind that both Xenophon and Plato speak, not as we do, of the *Δαίμων* of Socrates, but of the *δαιμόνιον*. They never speak of the *δαιμόνιον* as *θεός*, but observe strictly the known distinction between these terms. *Δαιμόνιον* signifies the abstract or neuter idea of divine power, the Deity or the Divinity. As Aristotle says, it implies *ἢ Θεὸς ἢ Θεοῦ ἔργον*,[21] either the presence or the power, not of a *δαίμων* or inferior divinity, but of God. *Δαίμων* is so far used convertibly with *Θεός*, that it is sometimes used for *Θεός*, but *Θεός* is never used for *Δαίμων*. *Θεός* and *Δαίμων* are sometimes used together; but *Δαίμων* signifies a divinity of lower rank.

In the Apology, Socrates tells his judges that when he was coming out of his house, *τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον*, the sign of the God, distinguishing the agency from the person, hindered him. Xenophon also makes Euthydemus say that the Gods showed a special friendship to Socrates. And again he says, speaking of voices, signs, and divinations, that by these things, *τοὺς θεοὺς σημαίνειν*, the Gods signified things to man. The *δαιμόνιον* was one of those signs: impersonal, derived from a divine agent.

2. That they disagree as to the function or office of the Dæmonion. Xenophon ascribes to it the twofold office of suggestion and restraint. Plato ascribes to it expressly that of restraint only.

[21] *Arist. Rhet.* ii. xxiii. 8.

Plutarch agrees with Xenophon, and describes its office as either restraining or enjoining; *κωλύων ἢ κελεύων*.[22]

3. That they further disagree, inasmuch as Xenophon recognises the action of the Dæmonion in matters of right or wrong, as well as in matters of expediency; whereas Plato seems to restrict it to the latter.

The sum of the evidence, therefore, may be thus stated: Socrates believed himself to be assisted from his childhood by a divine agency, whereby he was forewarned and guided in matters of his own personal conduct, both towards himself, as in his escape after the defeat at Delium, and his waiting in the Lycæum; and towards others, as in judging what disciples to receive or to reject, and in his whole mission as cross-examiner of his fellow-countrymen.

Such is the judgment of ancient writers. I will quote only a few of the many modern critics on this subject. Bishop Thirlwall says: 'Socrates, who was used to reflect profoundly on the state of his own mind, had, it seems, gradually become convinced that he was favoured by the Gods with an inward sign, which he described as a voice.'[23]

In like manner, Mr. Grote says: 'We have also to note that marked feature in the character of Socrates, the standing upon his own individual reason and measure of good and evil; nay, even perhaps his confidence in it so far as to believe in a divine voice informing and moving him.'[24] Mr. Grote further refers

[22] *De Genio Socratis*, sect. 11.
[23] *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 290. [24] Grote's *Plato*, vol. i. p. 295.

in a note to a curious passage from the Life of Coriolanus by Plutarch, where he says that the Gods do not infuse into men new volitions; but they work upon the principle of association in the mind, suggesting ideas which conduct to the appropriate volitions. Plutarch's words are, 'Not infusing the motive powers, but the ideas which call those motive powers into activity; not making the act involuntary by constraint, but giving an outset to the will, and inspiring it with courage and hope.'[25]

According to both these estimates it would appear that the groundwork of this divine action, as Socrates believed it to be, was the intellectual and moral activity of his own mind.

Zeller, in his work on Socrates and the Socratic Schools, gives his estimate of the Dæmonion in the following words:

'The δαιμόνιον is therefore an internal oracle, and as such it is by Xenophon and Plato included under the more general notion of divination, and placed on a par with divination by sacrifice and the flight of birds. In attempting to bring this inward revelation of Socrates into harmony with the facts of psychology, it may be laid down, in the first place, that the *dæmonium* must not be confounded with the voice of conscience, as many ancient and modern critics have done.' . . . . 'The δαιμόνιον has nothing to do with the universal moral standard, which, according to Socrates, is a matter for

[25] Κινοῦντα τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐδ' ὁρμὰς ἐνεργαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ φαντασίας ὁρμῶν ἀγωγούς, αἷς οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀκούσιον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑκουσίῳ δίδωσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ θαῤῥεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζειν προστίθησιν. *In Vita M. Coriolani*, vol. i. sect. 33, ed. Dœhner, Paris, 1857.

pure intelligence to determine.' . . . 'For these [that is, actions in prospect] Socrates either has recourse to μαντικὴ in general, or to his δαιμόνιον, leaving moral conduct to be determined by clear knowledge.'[26]

We are here approaching to the estimate which appears to me to be both adequate and true.

Mr. Riddell, of Balliol, after carefully analysing the evidence we have hitherto examined, says:

'If, then, declining Socrates' account, we are disposed to refer the phenomenon to ordinary psychological causes, we can do so satisfactorily, provided we confine our attention to Xenophon's account alone. All Xenophon's notices of it encourage the view that it was a quick exercise of a judgment, informed by knowledge of the subject, trained by experience, and inferring from cause to effect, without consciousness of the process. In a mind so purified by temperance and self-knowledge, so single of purpose, and unperturbed by lower aims, endowed with such powerful natural faculties, especially those of observation and of causality, the ability to forecast and forejudge might become almost an immediate sense.'

'As to the reconcilement of authorities, when Plato makes Socrates say, ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με, he describes it by its most perceptible act. For its coincidence with an existing purpose would be superfluous and little noticeable.' . . . 'The voice was no impulse; it did not speak to the will, but had a critical or reflexive function.'

[26] Zeller's *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, pp. 76-78. Longman, 1868.

Mr. Riddell goes on to say that the δαιμόνιον was 'an unanalysed act of judgment;' that it was κριτική, not ἐπιτακτική, that it was Socrates' substitute for μαντική, and that, where men are wont to have recourse to external preternatural aids, Socrates went by a guide within himself; that to this guide he, in all good faith, gave a religious name. 'His mental acts, so far as he could unravel them, were his own, were human; beyond his ken, they were divine. And what really was of the nature of an immediate critical sense seemed to him an immediate inspiration.'[27]

This appears to me to be in outline an explanation both true and adequate.

If I were asked to add my own judgment as to what the Dæmon of Socrates was, in the estimate of Socrates himself, I should answer as follows:

It was a belief of a divine assistance, granted, as he says, to all men in some things, and in some special circumstances; of which most men are hardly, if at all, conscious; but in his case it was consciously recognised from his childhood, and it acted upon him in and through the intellectual and moral operations of his own mind: so that he ascribed to the action of the Dæmonion much that was undoubtedly the normal activity of his own intellectual and moral state.

Such, I think, Socrates believed it to be.

If, however, I were asked what we may believe it to have been, I would answer:

1. That, holding altogether with Lord Bacon, when he says in his essay on atheism, 'I had rather believe

[27] Riddell's *Apology of Plato*, pp. 105-8, Oxford, 1867.

all the fables of the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind,' we may well believe in a divine providence surrounding the life, and a divine action present to the mind, of any man who, according to the testimony of one that knew him by closest intimacy, was 'so pious as never to do anything without the counsel of the Gods; so just as never to hurt any one even in the lightest thing; but full of the greatest benefit to all who conversed with him; so temperate as never to prefer what was pleasant to what was best; so prudent as never to err in discerning the better from the worse, and never to need the judgment of any other in this discernment, being sufficient in himself.'[28] That a divine providence and a divine help are over the whole intellectual and moral world is an axiomatic truth in the relation of God to man: that they may be looked for in a special degree in just and prudent men follows as a corollary from that axiom. But as this lies beyond our analysis, we will confine ourselves to the subject as a matter of psychology.

I will therefore add a further proposition, namely:

2. That the statements of Xenophon and Plato may be, not only harmonised, but brought under the same psychological explanation, resting on the laws of the speculative and the practical reason. It would indeed be too narrow an explanation, as Zeller objects, to refer the signs of this monitor to the action of conscience alone; for conscience is only one office or one function of the reason of man. Nevertheless it is certain that,

[28] *Xenoph. Memorabilia*, lib. iv. c. 8, s. 5.

in a large part of that which Socrates referred to the Dæmonion, conscience was directly present and perceptibly in action. It is no objection to this to quote, as Zeller does, the declaration of Socrates that, 'It is idle to consult the Gods about things which may be known by deliberation;'[29] or to say that Socrates 'referred morals to the judgment of reason.'[30] This is precisely the philosophical definition of conscience. Conscience is *dictamen rationis*. It is reason acting upon right and wrong with a view to practice: just as apprehension is the reason acting upon truth and falsehood with a view to science. In matter of speculative truth, as in physical science, geometry, and the like, the intellect acts without any response from the passions or affections of the moral nature. Aristotle, in the *Rhetoric*, says that mathematics have no ethical character, but that the teaching of Socrates has.[31] In matter of practical truth, the discernments of the intellect are followed by a response of the moral nature by way of approval or disapproval. But the *primary* judge is the reason, the response of the moral nature is *secondary*. It is, therefore, most true that morals are subject to the jurisdiction of reason; but that does not prove that this monitor of Socrates was not in great part the action of conscience.

And here it may be well to make more clear and precise the philosophical definition of conscience.

*Scientia* is the simple knowledge of things by the reason. *Conscientia* is the self-knowledge of the reason or mind. 'Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.'

[29] *Xenoph. Mem.* p. 78. [30] Ibid. [31] *Rhet.* iii. 16, 8.

Now this conscience in its *first* intention is consciousness, as we commonly call it. It extends over all the internal acts of the reason or mind, over the whole inner world of our personal identity. Conscience, in the *second* intention of common parlance, signifies the reason judging of moral action, and discerning of right from wrong, with an approval or disapproval of the moral sense following upon its decisions. Metaphysicians, therefore, distinguish the operations of conscience into two kinds, and speak of a *psychological* conscience, by which we reflect upon internal acts of the minds in general, and a *moral* conscience, by which we reflect upon and judge of the *ethical* character of actions, whether internal or external. And this conscience they again distinguish into *habitual* and *actual*. The *habitual* conscience is the permanent disposition of the mind in relation to its own moral *state;* the *actual* conscience is the fixing of its attention and judicial discernment on its own moral *acts*. The *habitual* conscience is *spontaneous*, and therefore unconscious; the *actual* conscience is reflex, *deliberate*, and therefore conscious.

Such is the language of scholastic philosophy; and this seems with great precision to account for the fact which Socrates appears to have observed in himself, and Plato has recorded; namely, that the Dæmonion seemed to act only by way of check and restraint. The spontaneous action of conscience was habitual and unperceived—the actual aroused attention and conscious effort.[32]

[32] *Prisco Filosofia Speculativa*, tom. i. pp. 208-10, Napolis, 1864.

In saying, then, that this internal monitor of Socrates is the reason, including the conscience, I intend expressly to include what is here described as the psychological as well as the moral conscience, and also the distinction between the habitual or spontaneous and the actual or deliberate conscience. The application of this will be further seen when we answer an objection which may be anticipated. This comprehensive view includes all the mental judgments, whether of expediency or of morality, that is, both of prudence and of rectitude.

As to the examples given by Xenophon and Plato, in almost every one of them may be traced a moral element and a moral discernment.

For instance, the decision of Socrates to keep out of politics, that he might better serve the public good. This is surely a high moral judgment, involving the noblest motives of relative duty. The discernment as to what disciples to retain, or what persons to receive back again among them after they had once left him, unless it were a blind and capricious act, which in Socrates is incredible, must have been founded upon such a discernment of moral qualities and distinctions, both in his own character and in that of others, as to demand the exercise of the moral reason. When we say that one man is *simpatico* and another *antipatico*, we are exercising a moral sense and discrimination of an intimate and explicit sort; and this determines us in receiving or refusing to receive men to our confidence.

In deciding that he would not defend himself so as

to escape death, the action of conscience, sustaining the highest aspirations and the noblest intrepidity, is clearly revealed.

I admit that in the escape after the flight and pursuit at Delium, and in the waiting in the Lycæum, and in the matter of Plutarch's pigs, there is to be discerned rather the activity of prudence than of conscience. But on the supposition that the monitor of Socrates was a mature and experienced reason, the action of both prudence and conscience would be alike included.

To this it may be objected, that Plato distinctly declares that the monitor of Socrates told him, not what things to do, but what things not to do; that inasmuch as conscience has a twofold office towards both good and evil, the Dæmonion could not be conscience.

But to this objection two answers may be made.

The first, that Xenophon and Plutarch directly say that the Dæmonion both enjoined and forbade, that is, pronounced for or against certain lines of action.

The other answer has been anticipated by the statements of our scholastic philosophy. It has been shown that the action of conscience, when it suggests or approves anything, is less perceptible than when it disapproves or forbids. This may be seen by analogies. We are insensible of our continuous respiration, but distinctly sensible of the act of holding the breath; it is an *actus imperatus* requiring a conscious exertion of the will. Again, in walking we are unconscious of the momentum of our pace, but conscious of any hindrance,

and even of the act of stopping. The moral reason or conscience is always in activity, but with little or no reflex action upon itself until something offends it. We are then conscious of a change of attitude and of a recoil. For instance, the reason and conscience of Socrates permitted him freely to mix among men to cross-examine them, but not to enter into politics. In the former, he followed his own spontaneous inclination; in the latter, he imposed a conscious restraint upon himself. This is what Aristotle describes as prudence, or Φρόνησις. He distinguishes it from science, as being an intellectual habit conversant with practical and contingent matter; and from intuition, as being of details rather than of principles. He says that Φρόνησις, or prudence, is an intellectual virtue conversant about moral action. And he ascribes to it a power of sight, which is so trained and perfected by experience as to discern with an intuitive rapidity what is right or expedient in practice. He says that prudent men have a faculty which men call (δεινότης) skill, or ability, or resource, 'the nature of which is to do—and to do correctly—the things which conduce to the end proposed. If this aim be good, the skill is praiseworthy; but if it be bad, it becomes craft.' Wherefore Aristotle says, 'We call prudent men skilful, and not crafty. But prudence is not the same as this faculty (*i.e.* δεινότης, or skill). But the habit of prudence grows upon this *eye*, as it were, of the soul.'[33] This is a precise description of the prompt and provident intuition, a sort of ἀγχίνοια, and εὐβουλία, presence of mind, rapidity of

[33] *Arist. Eth. N. L.* vi. xii. τῷ ὄμματι τούτῳ· γίνεται τῆς ψυχῆς.

counsel, with which Socrates discovered the useful, or the expedient in matters of practice. But the nature of this intellectual faculty is, in the main, distinctly moral, and belongs to the region of conscience, or the discernment of right and wrong.

This instinct or faculty of moral discernment is traceable throughout the whole history of the ancient world. S. Paul only affirms what all records of antiquity demonstrate in saying, 'When the Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, which show the works of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness (*συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως*), and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.'[34]

Once more: it may be objected that it is not for us to theorise as to what Socrates ought to have understood of his own inward life, but to take things as he expressed them.

To this I have already by anticipation made one sufficient answer. But I will add another. Socrates refused to be classed with the philosophers or teachers of Athens. He delivered no system of philosophy. He framed to himself no moral or mental science. He found philosophy in the hands of physicists, or physical theorists, and of Sophists. He thought the physicists to be vainly curious, if not impious, in trying to discover what the gods kept secret; he thought the Sophists to be venal, superficial, and immoral. He was the

[34] Rom. ii. 14, 15.

founder, not of a new philosophy, but of a new era in philosophy. He extricated the conceptions of God and of morality from the region and philosophy of matter, and set them in the sphere of mind. He brought down philosophy, as Cicero says, from heaven to earth, to the market-place and the streets, and the homes and the hearts of men. He cross-examined every man he met with, politicians, philosophers, rhetoricians, painters, private citizens, artisans; but he framed no system and laid down no theories; he made no analysis of the human mind. Lord Bacon is said to have created a Novum Organum in philosophy by questioning Nature. This Socrates certainly did by questioning man. His method was one of universal questioning, whereby he heaped up materials for his disciples, one of whom afterwards gave to them a scientific order and precision of expression which has formed the imperishable basis of mental and moral philosophy to this day. The Ethics of Aristotle analyse, lay out, distinguish, and define the intellectual and moral processes of the human mind—modern metaphysicians must bear with me—with a truth which has never been surpassed. What Socrates felt, Aristotle has fixed by exact analysis. The character of Socrates is the φρόνιμος of Aristotle, the prudent man; but prudence is etymologically and essentially far-seeing,[35] the perfection of the moral reason. 'All men,' he says, 'seem to testify that such a habit which is according to prudence is virtue. But it is necessary

[35] 'Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.' *Hor. Od.* iii. 29.

to make a slight difference, for virtue is not only a habit according to right reason, but inseparably joined with right reason; and prudence is the same as right reason on these subjects. Socrates, therefore,' Aristotle says, 'thought the virtues to be reasons or rational habits, for he thought them all to be sciences; but we think them to be intellectual habits joined with reason. It is clear, however, from what has been said, that it is impossible for a man to be properly virtuous without prudence, or to be prudent without moral virtue.'[36] Aristotle seems to me to give in this passage the psychological analysis of the intuition and providence with which Socrates was eminently endowed. His prudence or *Φρόνησις* constituted the *αὐτάρκεια*, or self-dependence of reason in all questions of morality, of which Xenophon speaks.

> 'Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia, nos te
> Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam cœloque locamus.'[37]

The prudence of Socrates was his own moral state, and yet *non sine Numine*, for we may well believe that to him was granted no common share in the 'Light that lighteth every man that cometh into this world.'

In saying this I am not rejecting the supposition that the particular providence which never suffers even a sparrow to fall to the ground without its Creator's will may have in a special way encompassed the life of a man who witnessed in a corrupt world to the lights of Nature and to the laws of right. In the midst of an intellectual frivolity and a moral degradation

[36] *Eth. N. L.* vi. xiii.
[37] Juvenal, lib. iv. sat. x. 365-6.

never surpassed in the history of mankind, made all the guiltier by reason of the refined culture and luxurious civilisation of Athens, Socrates bore witness, until seventy years of age, to the supremacy of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, the four perfections of man in the order of Nature.

Whether the estimate I have given of the Dæmonion of Socrates be true or not, the inquiry in which we have been engaged is manifestly not a barren speculation. It sets before us a great moral example; it teaches us a great moral law, necessary to men at all times, vital to us in these declining days. I mean, that there is no way for men to attain their true dignity, nor to serve their age and country, but to be upright in conscience, and, even at the cost of life, to be both in public and private duty prudent and temperate, just and brave. It tells us with a thrilling human voice, and in the accents of our common humanity, that man's supreme rule of right is the moral reason or conscience; that the cultivation of the mere intellect, while the moral life and powers lie fallow, is the work of sophists, deceivers or deceived, or both; that the education of man is his moral formation; that intellectual culture without moral goodness is a wildfire and a pestilence, which makes havoc of men and states; that knowledge is virtue, and virtue knowledge; for that, unless we would maim and mutilate our being, the intellectual and moral powers of man must be simultaneously and equably unfolded and matured. These are axioms of the moral life; vital, I say, at all times and in all lands, but nowhere more in season

and more wholesome than to us, who, in the sudden growth of a vast maritime empire, splendid and unstable for its very greatness, in the refinements of luxury, and the inundation of a stupendous prosperity, seem to be developing some of the moral and intellectual evils which went before the fall of imperial Athens,—political factions, licentious freedom; sophistical education, a relaxation of moral and religious traditions, a growing scepticism, an unstable public opinion, swayed to and fro by nameless hands and by irresponsible voices. In such a public state Socrates lived and died, bequeathing to us this lesson—that conscience is the Voice of God.

## XIII.

# A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

# A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

---

My dear Lord Primate,—I can say with truth that, among the disappointments which have befallen me in events of this kind, I can remember none greater than that of failing of my promise to be with you at the dedication of the cathedral of Armagh.

When your Grace first invited me, I answered at once that I could refuse nothing to the successor of S. Patrick. Any such invitation from Ireland would come in his name; but an invitation from Armagh comes with his authority. It speaks from his own see as Metropolitan and Primate of Ireland.

I felt also that your invitation was not only a personal and private kindness, but that it had a wider meaning. It was a bidding to me to come and to greet once more the Bishops of Ireland, among whom I spent so many happy hours during the Council of the Vatican. I may say still more: it was an invitation to the Catholic Church in England to come and join with the Catholic Church in Ireland in a solemnity which bears witness to the indissoluble unity of the Faith. It

seemed to me very fitting, and in these days very timely, and in every way very good and full of meaning, that the Primate of Ireland should have by his side a representative of the Catholic Church in England. I knew also from certain sources that among the clergy and people of Ireland many kind hearts wished to give me a welcome.

Therefore I do not think that I failed in any way to appreciate the reasons which now make my disappointment greater. Your Grace will believe me, then, when I say that no light cause would have made me deprive myself of so much pleasure, and disappoint so many kind friends, and frustrate so many kind intentions. I may also add that no light cause would have made me even seem to be wanting in respect to your Grace and the Bishops, and to the clergy and people of Ireland.

But in truth I had, as I wrote last week, no choice.

Our Provincial Council, which I thought would be over in ten or twelve days, took two-and-twenty; and after it closed it laid upon me many more days of work. The dedication of the church at Rathkeale was fixed for the 17th. I could not leave S. Edmund's College, where the Council was held, until the 16th. It was then impossible to reach Rathkeale in time, even if I could have travelled night and day; and I did not know till the work was over how completely unable I was to travel at all, still more to fulfil the promise I had made of preaching in Rathkeale and in Dublin and Armagh, and of accepting the many kind tokens of welcome which were, as I knew, prepared for me.

Those who were then with me know that I do not often break promises of work. Between the conviction that I ought not to undertake any work at that time, and the pain of disappointing so many known and unknown to me, I was in real anxiety. I can therefore assure you that your Grace's kind and considerate letter, and one equally kind and considerate from his Eminence the Cardinal, have given me a sensible relief and consolation. I will now therefore go on to fulfil my promise to give you in print what I should have said in words. Your Grace need not be afraid lest I should send you the sermon I was to preach. My purpose is more merciful. I wish to write what I should have said about the Catholic Church in Ireland, and also in England, their mutual relations of co-operation and support; and somewhat about the witness we have to bear, and the work we have to do in our country, at this strange crisis of the Church in all nations of Europe.

## I.

If I had been able to be among you, I should have expressed, so far as I could, some of the many motives of veneration with which I regard Catholic Ireland; for I know no country in the world more truly Christian, nor any Catholic people that has retained its faith and traditions more inviolate. The one only exception I know is indeed out of all comparison: I mean Rome. It is true indeed that the immutability of Rome is thrown out into higher relief by the fact that the city has been submerged, times without number, by every

form of anti-Christian enmity, and that it has been the centre of all the warfare of the world against the Faith; but it has been sustained by its exceptional divine prerogatives, and therefore remains immovable. Ireland has not the special support of either 'Tu es Petrus' or of 'Ego rogavi pro te;' nevertheless it remains to this day, for fourteen hundred years, as S. Patrick left it, unstained and inviolate in Catholic fidelity. I know of no other province in the Kingdom of our Divine Master of which this can be said. Every other country in Europe has had its heresy and its periods of obscuration. Some have risen and fallen again, and have been restored once more; some, after centuries of light and grace, have apostatised utterly, and lie dead to this day; but Ireland is the Ireland of S. Patrick to the present hour. I am well aware what nibbling critics and historical scavengers may rake up from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries of Irish history; but this still more confirms my assertion. Even in those dark days the faith of Ireland never failed. It was Catholic and Roman, as S. Patrick taught it. I note this, not only because it is a great glory, which has been won by centuries of suffering even unto death—and Ireland may indeed be truly inscribed in the calendar of the Church as both confessor and martyr—but I note it because it seems to me to be related to other great truths. If England had been less prosperous in this world, it might have been more faithful to the Kingdom of God. If Ireland has had an inheritance of sorrow, it has received, in the order of grace and life eternal, the recompense of a great reward. In this I see some

explanation of the unexampled spiritual fertility of Ireland. What other race since the Apostles has so spread the Faith on earth? There is at this hour an Irish and catholic population in England, Scotland, Canada, Australia, and the United States, double in number as compared with the whole population of Ireland. They are multiplying beyond all other races; founding churches and episcopates, building cathedrals; raising everywhere altars, schools, colleges, convents; and covering the surface of new countries, I may say new continents, with the Catholic faith as fervent, fruitful, and pure as in Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh. I know nothing else like this in the world; I may say, in Christian history. When I remember how this faith has been preserved, through what sorrows and sufferings, with what a prolonged martyrdom of generations, I must believe that our Divine Master has called the Irish nation to a great mission and a great destiny. And this comes out all the more visibly in this age of national apostasy. The nations have fallen away one after another from the unity of the Kingdom of God. Germany and the North fell first; France, and Italy, and Austria, and now Spain, have followed. By anti-Christian revolutions and public rejection of the Vicar of Jesus Christ they have as nations ceased to be Catholic, and seem bent on ceasing to be even Christian; but Ireland, in heart and soul and will, in its private life and public opinion, in its popular voice and political action, is Christian and Catholic; with a noble pride and manly indignation at the apostasy and cowardice of the nations who are hiding their face from the Redeemer

of the world, and disowning His Vicar on earth. With all my heart I love Ireland for this apostolic fidelity, for this chivalry of Catholic fortitude and Christian love. Your Grace is at this moment while I am writing surrounded by the Bishops and clergy of Ireland, dedicating the cathedral at Armagh. I am consoling myself for my privation by writing these words: and praying that the promise made to S. Patrick may be abundantly fulfilled in all the world, and with a special benediction on the province of Ulster, and upon the faithful, fervent, generous people of Ireland.

Edmund Burke said that, with some changes, the Catholic Church in Ireland, to his mind, bore the closest resemblance of any Church on earth to the Church of the Apostles. I fully believe this; for it is the most pastoral Church in the world, where pastors and flock are in the closest bonds of confidence and love. Where this is, Christianity is in its primitive purity of life. I am not going to dwell on these topics now. Ireland, its adversaries being both judges and witnesses, is at the head of the nations for purity of morals and freedom from ordinary crime. For years I have declared my belief that Ireland is the most Christian country in the world. Its Christian traditions are universal and unbroken; its people know their religion; the intelligence of Ireland has been illuminated, quickened, enlarged by the inherited faith of fourteen hundred years; to your flocks Christian and Catholic are convertible terms. An Irishman without faith is a shame to his mother and to Ireland. The laity of Ireland, as I well know, are as prompt and clear when

Catholic doctrine or principle is at stake, and speak as authoritatively and logically in defence of the Catholic religion, as if they had been trained in a seminary. The whole action of Irish homes, Irish public opinion, and the social life of the nation moulds them, not by constraint and unwillingly, but insensibly and spontaneously, to the instincts and character of Christians. May God preserve this inheritance of His grace to you. In England it has been shattered and wasted; every year mutilates more and more the remaining Christian traditions of public life and opinion among us. We can test this comparative difference under our own hands. The difference of Catholic formation between those who come to us from Ireland and those who are born of Irish parents in England is sadly marked. The atmosphere of Ireland unfolds and ripens the Catholic instincts of faith; the atmosphere of England, like untimely frost, checks and cuts them off.

II.

I could have wished also to say to my Irish brethren what, as one looks at Ireland from a distance, may perhaps be a mirage or an illusion; but it may also be a truth and reality, more promptly seen by those who look from a distance than by those who live in the monotony of every day and the importunate presence of the common life which surrounds them. Perhaps no one is so quick to perceive the growth of the trees about a friend's house as a visitor who comes only from time to time. One conviction, then, is strongly impressed upon my mind. I do not believe that Ireland was ever

so full of life, power, and resource as at this day. I can fully understand how the constant sense of the many evils and wrongs you daily see may make it hard to realise this fact; but I believe it to be the simple truth.

1. First, was there ever any time in the history of Ireland when its people were so completely united? There have been in past times many interests of races, families, and classes which have hindered the fusion of the people into one whole. At this day they are as solidly united as the people of Scotland or of Yorkshire. The moral importance of this fact will be estimated by all who know the past history of Ireland.

2. Next, it may with certainty be said that the people of Ireland were never so well or so universally educated as at this day. The College of S. Patrick's, at Maynooth, has now since the beginning of this century wrought its effects throughout the Catholic clergy; a number of lesser colleges throughout the provinces has powerfully affected the Catholic laity. The system of education which for the last thirty years has covered Ireland with national schools has diffused education through the whole body of the people. Popular education in Ireland is more widely spread than in England. What was intended by some to undermine the Catholic religion in Ireland has turned to the confirmation of the Faith. The mass of the people at this day are an intelligent and educated Catholic nation: all the more Catholic because all the more intelligent; and thereby able to appreciate explicitly the grounds of their faith, the notes of the Church, the history of heresy, and the

emptiness of all anti-Catholic systems, which, after ages of pretension, are visibly dissolving every day before their eyes. Firm, changeless, and invincible as Ireland has ever been in its faith, it is more so now than ever. Everything has been tried against it, from martyrdom and pitchcaps to soup and secular education: *merges profundo pulchrior evenit.* I am old enough to remember the high days of Exeter Hall, and Irish missions at Dingle and the like, and Priest Protection Societies, and the New Reformation in Connemara; of which the great public oracle of England declared that, if its progress should be long maintained, Roman Catholicism would one day be as extinct in Ireland as the worship of the Phœnicians in Cornwall. But all these things have gone to the limbo of South Sea Bubbles; and the Catholic people of Ireland are rising and consolidating every year in vigorous intelligence and immutable faith.

3. To this I may add one more sign of prosperous growth in Ireland. Since the day when its people were put out of their inheritance in the soil, there was never a time when so much land had returned again into Catholic hands. Famine and fever and the exodus have indeed done their mournful work, in assuring to those who survive or remain a better remuneration for their industry; but, apart from this, there never was, I believe, a time when more industry was at work in Ireland, when more capital was invested, more activity of production and exchange was in motion, and when therefore better returns were secured to the employers and better wages to the employed. Of this I lately had an unlooked-for and trustworthy proof. A very intelli-

gent Englishman, who had raised himself, as he told me, from the plough's tail, went over last autumn to Connemara, to see with his own eyes the material condition of the peasantry in Ireland. On his return he assured me that in abundance and quality of food, in rate of wages, and even in the comfort of their dwellings, the working men of Connemara are better off than the agricultural labourers of certain of our English counties. It is therefore to me beyond a doubt that the Catholic population of Ireland is at this moment forming to itself a social organisation, in all its conditions of industry and commerce, labour and capital, and filling up the unsightly chasm between the richest and the poorest with a gradation of social classes, which must every year indefinitely increase the resources and power of the country. I know, indeed, that the last census shows once more a diminished population: but when this descent has touched a certain point emigration will slacken, if not cease, and the population will increase again.

4. And lastly, I must say that no one without a foresight almost prophetic could have foretold, in 1828 and 1829, to how high a share in the public life and power of the Empire Ireland has been lifted by the last five-and-forty years. On this let me speak out of my own observation. I was just entering upon life when the Catholics of these kingdoms were admitted into Parliament. I well remember the political conflicts from the time of Mr. O'Connell's election for the county of Clare. From that day to this many events and reasons have made me note somewhat closely the course of our legis-

lation: and my clear and firm conviction is, that at no time in the history of the English monarchy has Ireland had so wide, so various, and so powerful a share in the legislature, in the public opinion, and in the public life of the Empire. The justice of Englishmen has admitted Ireland to the same legal privileges and powers as England and Scotland; and the intelligence and energy of Irishmen are every year converting what is potential in the statute-book into actual exercise and possession. It is not my intention now to enter upon political matters; but I must say in passing that I do not forget the inequalities which still depress the Catholic population of these kingdoms. They are not, however, inequalities of the law, which is the same for all; but inequalities of social and personal conditions, which still weigh upon the posterity of those who were a generation ago under penal laws. Who would have believed that, after five-and-forty years—that is, nearly half a century after the admission of Catholics to Parliament—there should not be a single Catholic returned to the House of Commons by any constituency in England or in Scotland? And who would believe that, of the hundred and five Irish members in the House of Commons, the Catholic members should be only one in three to represent a people of whom the Catholics are nearly four to one? Nevertheless, as I am aware, the Protestant representatives of Catholic constituencies are men of honour; and through them also Catholic Ireland makes its just claims felt, so far as they are felt, in the Imperial Legislature. Your Grace will correct me if I be in error; but am I not right in affirming that Ireland has

a public opinion of its own, which has matured and strengthened in the last forty years beyond all example in the past history of the country? And has not that public opinion a powerful action, through an extensive and active press, upon the public opinion of England and upon the Imperial Legislature? And let me add that, in all the great cities and towns of England and Scotland, there is a response to this public opinion and to this public voice of Ireland which carries home both to the ear and to the intelligence of this country. My belief is that there is a great future for Ireland. If less than fifty years have brought about what I have hardly touched in outline, what may not another fifty years with the accelerating ratio of improvement accomplish? When I look on foreign nations, and I may say also upon England, I see cause for grave foreboding. Everywhere I see change, or what men call progress, without stability. Governments and nations are marching into the unknown, without a base of operations, and therefore without any line of retreat; without communications open for resource, or means of reforming in case of a disaster. States—I do not say monarchies, for they have sold themselves and are morally gone—but States without faith are therefore without God; and States without God have no stability, because they have no vital coherence. They may hold together by the force of custom for a while, or by the tenacity of interest even for a long time; but they have no source of life or curative resources in themselves. All these things I see in Ireland. You have a people pervaded by faith, openly serving God by every form of private and public

duty. You have a religious unity in doctrine, worship, and communion, which resists and casts off all modern expedients of latitudinarianism or Godless legislation. The progress of Ireland is on the pathway of Christianity, which has made the nations of Christendom and the glory of them. They have departed, or are departing, from faith, and their glory likewise is departing from them. For them I see no future. I see no future for imperial Germany; or for revolutionary Italy; or for Spain, if it abandon its ancient Catholic traditions; or for France, if it continue to deify Voltaire and to glorify the principles of 1789. But I do see a future for Ireland, and I see also a future for England—if Ireland be Ireland still, and if England have still a Christian heart. Here is the trial which has now reached its crisis. The trial is this: Shall the next generation of Irishmen be formed as Catholics? Shall the next generation of Englishmen be formed as Christians?

## III.

I am at a loss to understand the blindness which has fallen upon a multitude of men at this day. They would indignantly claim to be Christians. But they deal with Christian education as they would deal with the casting of iron and the combing of wool—as a necessary but expensive work, in which there is no motive for enthusiasm. Not so those who desire to rid the world of the Catholic faith, of doctrinal Christianity, and of religion in any form. They know perfectly well that the school is more fatal to their policy than the church. Our churches would soon stand empty if our

schools were not full. They see what we are either blind enough not to see, or, as they may well think, stupid enough not to understand—that the shape and mould and form and character of the next generation are to be decided in our schools. Bring up the children without religion, and the next generation will pull down the churches. We in England were upon the brink of being terrified by agitation, and juggled by leagues into some compromise, which is the beginning of interminable concessions. This danger is, I hope, past, because the momentary scare is over, and the weakness of the agitation is found out. We have need, however, of a hundred eyes, and of keeping them all open, to watch the dangers which beset the Catholic and Christian education of these countries. The popular education of Ireland is indeed safe: not through any favour of legislatures, but through the fidelity and industry of the Catholic Church and its people. Your danger will be in the higher education. And your only safety will be in the same Catholic fidelity and industry; which will render all experiments at mixed education in Ireland useless, because the Catholic laity in Ireland refuse them, and the Catholic Church is resolved to provide colleges and a higher education for its people. When the late proposal for university education in Ireland was first made known, I was, for a time, induced to believe, looking at it as for us in England, that it could be accepted with safety and worked for ultimate good. But this impression—for I will not call it a judgment or even an opinion—I carefully guarded by the consciousness that those only who are upon the spot and familiar

with all local and personal conditions could form an adequate judgment. I was fully aware that what could be tolerated in England might be intolerable in Ireland: and that what would be a gain to a handful of Catholics in a vast non-Catholic population might be a great loss, and even a wrong, to a Catholic people of which the religious unity and Catholic traditions are unbroken. When, then, the Catholic Episcopate of Ireland refused the proposal on the high Christian principle that it involved two things which the Catholic Church inflexibly refuses—the one, mixed education; the other, education without faith—I recognised the higher and nobler attitude of its refusal. I saw in it the broad assertion that a Catholic people have a right to Catholic education; that education is impossible without faith; that already enough had been endured by Ireland, and that had been done by Parliament in the establishment of primary schools in which the Catholic religion could not be taught, and in the founding of colleges where education is mixed; that both these things are wrong against a Catholic people; and that it was therefore impossible to consent to a measure which would consolidate, perpetuate, and extend this system of mixed and Godless education in the heart of a people profoundly religious and profoundly Catholic. When I saw this, I at once recognised, not only the truth and the justice, but also the higher elevation, of your reply. Such mixed and Godless schemes of university education have become inevitable in England by reason of our endless religious contentions. England has lost its religious unity, and is paying the grievous penalty.

But Ireland may well remind the Imperial Parliament that it has not forfeited its religious unity, and that such penal legislation is neither necessary nor tolerable. Even Scotland has made this plea good, in bar of schemes of education at variance with its religious convictions. The Scotch Education Bill is essentially religious and denominational. Parliament has legislated for Scotland wisely and justly, according to the desires and the conscience of the Scotch people. It will assuredly take its measure of any education schemes for England from the ideas and choices of the English people. To their shame be it spoken, there are Englishmen and Scotchmen who will claim this for themselves and will deny it to Irishmen. We have of late years fully unmasked this injustice. For a long time your claim was not denied, because it was not distinctly enunciated. Ireland had borne with a long course of niggard and ungenerous legislation, in which the least possible recognition was admitted that Ireland is a Catholic country, and the Irish a Catholic people. But when certain politicians began to claim Presbyterian education for Presbyterian Scotland, the whole truth was told, and the claim of Ireland was unintentionally established. The Presbyterians in Scotland are as somewhat more than four to one of the entire population. The Catholics of Ireland are about the same to their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen. The late Irish University debates have lifted the whole question, and placed it upon this level: Catholic Ireland justly claims that its higher education shall be Catholic. And from this demand, I trust, under God,

it will never go back. The Bishops and people of Ireland, who, in resistance of the Godless colleges, five-and-twenty years ago founded a Catholic University, will not fail now in resisting the scheme of a mixed university, to give permanence and development to the university which already exists. The vigorous unity of the pastors and people of Ireland will not hesitate to take up and to consolidate the work which was so well begun, with so much foresight, and with so much self-denial. Its very existence on Stephen's Green is a witness that Catholic Ireland claims a pure Catholic University. I trust that no line, no letter, of this noble and explicit inscription will be effaced. It was the work of the Irish Church and nation. It has stood for more than twenty years, bearing witness to the claims of the laity of Ireland, and to the duty of the Imperial Parliament towards the Irish people. If it served no other purpose in our day—and it does serve a multitude of other and excellent uses—this one alone would suffice to bind the faithful to maintain it in its integrity, and to make it the centre of the higher national education of Ireland.

## IV.

If this be done by the spontaneous efforts of the Irish people, the day must come when a juster spirit will prevail in our Legislature. It will not for ever obey the narrow bigotry of Covenanters, nor the jealous fears of sectarians, nor the imperial haughtiness of tyrannical Liberals, nor the supercilious contempt of infidels. The Parliament of the future will be broader,

and more in sympathy with the constituencies of the three kingdoms. England and Scotland will not claim to legislate for Ireland according to English and Scotch interests and prejudices; and Ireland, when it is justly treated, will have no more will then than it has now to make or meddle in the local affairs of England or Scotland. The three peoples are distinct in blood, in religion, in character, and in local interests. They will soon learn to 'live and let live,' when the vanishing *reliquiæ* of the Tudor tyranny shall have died out; unless the insane example of Germany shall, for a time, inflame the heads of certain violent politicians to try their hand at what they call an imperial policy. I have watched, with a mixture of sorrow and indignation, the writings and the speeches of a handful of boisterous and blustering doctrinaires, who are trying to turn men away from doing what is just towards Ireland by grandiloquent phrases about the imperial race and an imperial policy. An imperial policy, in the mouths of doctrinaires, means a legislation which ignores the special character and legitimate demands of races and localities, and subjects them to the coercion of laws at variance with their most sacred instincts. Not so the imperial policy of ancient Rome, which wisely consolidated its world-wide power by the most delicate regard to the religion of every race and nation. But our doctrinaires either have no religion, or a Scotch or English creed. They will take good care to make provision for themselves.

Imperial policy means, and may be defined as, legislation to hamper and harass the Catholic Church

in Ireland. Such imperial legislation would be intensely English for England and Scotch for Scotland, but imperial—that is, anti-Irish and anti-Catholic—for Ireland. Imperial legislation means using imperial power to force Ireland into subjection to the religious ideas of England. These same gentlemen lament openly that the policy of the Tudors stopped short of exterminating the Irish Catholic race. They are saying, 'If we had lived in the days of our fathers not a Catholic soul should have been left in Ireland, and then we should now have had no trouble with questions of Church, or land, or university education.' The appearance of such public counsellors is a portent of evil. They distort the vision and heat the blood of men; they revive animosities and kindle old hates. They may be the forerunners of convulsions which would lay waste our public peace, if there be not calmer heads and juster hearts to repress their inflammatory declamation.

The rise of an empire is no cause of joy to men who love their country. It is often the sign of the loss of true liberty. When local government, springing from mature national self-control, grows weak and impotent, then, and then only, it is that imperial centralisation becomes possible and necessary. France has tried it, and is expiating the fault by half a century of successive revolutions and a chronic instability. Germany is beginning to inflict upon itself a vengeance worse than France could wreak, by an imperial despotism which legislates in violation of the religion and conscience of its subjects. Its present ecclesiastical laws

have been hailed and heralded by our newspapers as the policy of Henry VIII. Till the other day no Englishman was found to glorify Henry VIII. Now he has received his apotheosis as a great Englishman and a wise king. Germany is applauded because it is persecuting the Catholic Church. The imperial power is setting to us the magnanimous example of defying the Pope. Articles without end appear every week, all alive with sympathy for this ignoble tyranny, which violates liberty of conscience, of religion, of speech, and of action in its most sacred sphere. And Englishmen, who have prated for three hundred years of the duty of private judgment, of the rights of conscience, of civil and religious liberty, are praising the German penal laws with all the fervour with which they used to denounce the fables of the Spanish Inquisition.

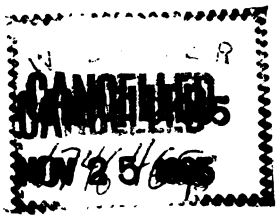
V.

I cannot say that I have much fear of an imperial policy in Great Britian and Ireland. The day is past, and the work would be found too tough for our doctrinaires. My chief reason for this confidence is that the people of these three kingdoms will not have it so. They mean to manage their own affairs with a great extension, rather than a hair's breadth of diminution, in the freedom of local self-government. They are willing, as I said, to live and to let live; not to meddle with others, nor to allow anybody to meddle with them: above all, in matters of conscience and of religion they will not be interfered with by any authority. They have no desire to interfere with the conscience



13

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.



C 1283.4
Miscellanies.
Widener Library 003330609
3 2044 081 768 269